

VOL 54/NO 8

**THE
CLASSICAL
JOURNAL**

MAY 1959

May 1959

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

vol 54 no 8

Greek Prototypes of American Myths: WALTER R. AGARD 338

THE FORUM 344

NOTES

The Onomatopoeia of Aeneid 3. 699-715: WILLIAM T. AVERY 350

The Doctor's Dictionary: LESLIE F. SMITH 352

Concerning Two Odes of Horace: I. 4 and 4. 7: DONALD NORMAN LEVIN 354

Index to Volume 54: WILLIAM D. FAIRCHILD, JR. 359

The Ancient City State: Some Reasons for Its Durability: JOHN W. SVYDER 363

FROM OTHER JOURNALS 372

WE SEE BY THE PAPERS 375

BOOK REVIEWS 377

Announcements 384

EDITORIAL BOARD

editor-in-chief: NORMAN T. PRATT, JR., Indiana University
for the atlantic states: FRANKLIN B. KRAUSS, Pennsylvania State University
for new england: JAMES A. NOTOPOULOS, Trinity College
for the pacific states: W. M. GREEN, University of California
book reviews: VERNE B. SCHUMAN, Indiana University
the forum: MRS. MARGARET M. FORBES, University of Minnesota
from other journals: ROGER A. HOENSBY, State University of Iowa
we see by the papers: GRAVES H. THOMPSON, Hampden-Sydney College

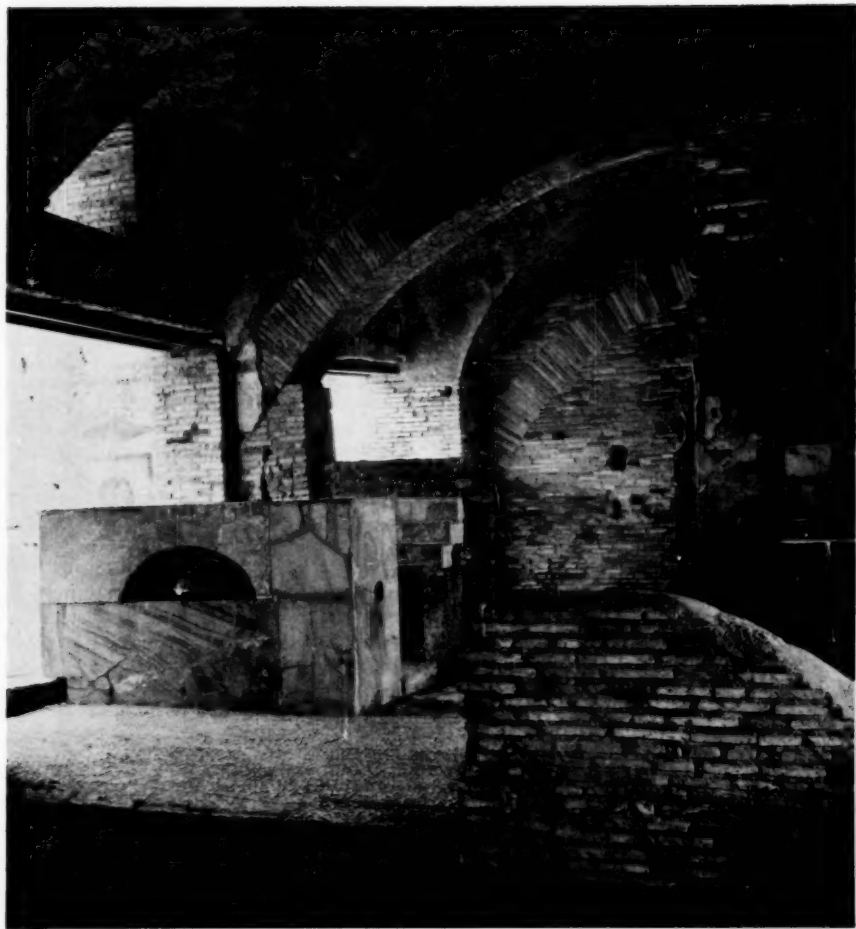
BUSINESS STAFF

managing editor: MRS. MILDRED H. MOSLEY, Mundelein College
circulation manager: JOHN N. HOUGH, University of Colorado

PRODUCTION

design consultant: WILLIAM FRIEDMAN, Albright Art Gallery
technical assistant: RONALD W. STEEREL, Indiana University
printer: LLOYD HOLLISTER INC., Wilmette, Illinois

The Classical Journal is published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc., with the cooperation of the Classical Association of New England, the Classical Association of the Pacific States, and the Classical Association of the Atlantic States. The annual volume consists of eight issues (October through May). Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office, Boulder, Colo., with an additional entry at Wilmette, Ill., on September 14, 1953. Entered under Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on October 19, 1952.



photograph from the Fototeca di Architettura e Topografia dell'Italia Antica

Ostia, Thermopolium

GREEK PROTOTYPES OF AMERICAN MYTHS

WALTER R. AGARD

IN ONE OF THE NEATEST of his analyses,¹ Aristotle distinguishes four causes: the material, formal, efficient, final. Taking a statue as an example, he would say: One cause of this statue is bronze, the material of which it is made; another is the form the material has assumed, the likeness of a particular man; another is the agency which imposed the form on the material, the sculptor; and fourth, is the purpose which the statue was meant to serve. Of the four, Aristotle had no doubt as to which cause is the most significant. He emphasized it in his biology, his politics, his ethics and his philosophy; it is the one which explains the purpose, the ultimate value sought by means of the object or the experience.

As we study myths, Aristotle's analysis is useful. I would like to apply his final cause to a few of the mythical heroes who influenced people's lives in ancient Greece, and to similar ones in our American scene.

Earlier interpretations of the origins of classical myths have been radically revised during the past half-century by students of anthropology and religion.² The three major interpretations of the 19th century, that the myths were pic-

turesque stories deriving from phenomena of nature, from historical fact, or from psychological needs, have been modified by an emphasis on religious and tribal ritual; and some scholars have gone so far as to deny altogether any naturalistic or historical basis for many of the myths, ascribing them to a ritualistic origin. They point out the similarity of pattern in hero myths: supernatural influences attending the birth, the achievement of success after overcoming apparently insuperable obstacles, often by magical means, the uneventful maturity and tragic death. And they say that this pattern arises out of ritual relating to the birth, career and death of a tribal god or king.

Now I shall not attempt to enter into that controversy here. I shall rule out myths about purely supernatural beings, and consider only people who were generally regarded by the Greeks as being mortal and having had a career in actual history. And, even if there is a hero-pattern for some of them which indicates a ritualistic origin, I judge that the reason for their creation is psychologically not far different from the reason for their survival in later literary and dramatic form, which is what we are chiefly concerned about: they met certain basic needs, they afforded people comfort in sorrow, faith in

times of doubt and despair, hope for the future. Their most significant cause was this purpose which they served. Men found expressed in them something to live by.

And that explains why the myths have exercised such a persistent influence on the later literature, art and value concepts of our Western world. Because they have symbolized basic beliefs and longings, hopes and dreams, they have been naturalized and have taken their place in the republic of ideas of many countries and cultures. Men still need myths like these. So Prometheus has become the universal foe of arbitrary authority, Hercules the symbol of fortitude and courage, Ulysses the personification of ingenuity, and so forth. If we set our imagination to work, the classical myths can be effectively interpreted in terms of our own contemporary experience. We can still find in them something to live by.

For example — Once upon a time . . . according to a popular Greek myth, Jason sailed in the good ship *Argo* to the Black Sea in quest of the Golden Fleece. Here is a very ancient story which surely had some historical connection with the wealth of the Black Sea region and the exploration and exploitation of it by pioneer Greek sailors. Where did a golden fleece get into the picture? Perhaps there were actually sheep with yellow fleeces, as in China today; perhaps the fields of ripened wheat suggested the metaphor; perhaps, as today in some primitive areas, greasy fleeces were used to trap bits of gold in flowing streams; or perhaps it was just a powerful magic object supposed to guarantee prosperity to the possessor. Was one of the pioneers actually named Jason? Who cares? On the basic material of pioneer adventure, storytellers doubtless elaborated the details of this typical hero prince and his band of fellow heroes; and later dramatists like Euripides and romantic writers like Apollonius of Rhodes and Ovid added subtle overtones to the story of

the adventure and its aftermath, in which Medea played a tragic and the faded Jason a pathetic role. But the chief cause of the myth, from the start to its final elaboration, was, I imagine, essentially unchanged: it was to record successful enterprises in the face of obstacles, to recapture the zest of pioneering adventure, to glorify heroic action. The development of the tragic aftermath (Jason's abandoning Medea and suffering the consequences) only served to emphasize the earlier enthusiasm of attitude and magnitude of achievement. There were heroes in those ancient days, declared Apollonius, challenging his effete and world-weary Alexandria. We, too, are challenged, as we enter into the spirit of the story. There are still frontiers to be explored, the story suggests, we can still be pioneers, we can seek and possess our Golden Fleece; and perhaps, profiting from the bitter lesson of Jason's later life, we can retain the spirit of the pioneers longer and more honorably than he did.

So we come to the question: What are the chief assurances and ambitions expressed in myths? Out of a complex series I am choosing three of them, with illustrations first from classical and later from American mythology.

The most obvious theme is the devotion to power. An early king or hero must first of all be strong, in order to win security and prestige for himself and his people. Of the mythical men of strength, the preeminent one in the Greek world was Heracles. No other hero was written about so much by poets, dramatists and even philosophers; or was pictured so often in vase-paintings and sculpture. By his strength he overcame all sorts of actual and imaginary beasts — the lion of Nemea, the bull of Crete, fire-breathing horses, the hydra and dragons; he subdued bandits and Amazons; he blazed trails into far countries; and he mastered such supernatural creatures as Triton, Antaeus and Cerberus, the hound of Hades. Originally no more than a prince of Tiryns in Helladic times, he so cap-

tured the imagination of the Greeks that century by century the legend grew as more stories of deeds of strength clustered around his name. There are certain constant characteristics: he does his exploits chiefly by human powers, with little supernatural or magical aid, and is by no means tireless; he has a sense of humor which is usually as robust as his muscles; and he labors, not for his personal glory, but for the general welfare. Because of this public service, he finally was adopted by some Sophists and the Stoics as a lofty ethical example—which would doubtless have greatly amused the earlier somewhat Falstaffian Heracles! He was far from being an intellectual giant; in fact, one interpretation of his period of insanity attributes it to problems too taxing for his mind to solve. Throughout the history of the myth, he remained primarily a hero of physical power.³

A second hero-concept is that of courage. Physical courage is obviously an essential attribute of any early leader. But I am thinking of moral courage as well. So I have chosen for my Greek example Antigone, the princess of Thebes who died rather than submit to the orders of her king when those orders conflicted with her love for her brother and her religious duty. That is the essence of the myth. But with Sophocles a character, however noble, is never perfect; and, far subtler than Goethe's misreading of her character,⁴ is Antigone's complex nature. That she has courage no one can doubt; and it is not surprising that she has come to symbolize and inspire resistance to tyranny, as she did in France during World War II.

After she has been arrested and led before King Creon, the following dialogue takes place:

CREON

You knew that my edict forbade this?

ANTIGONE

How could I help knowing? It was made perfectly plain.

CREON

And you dared to disobey these laws?

ANTIGONE

Yes, for it was not Zeus who made them,
Nor did Justice, dwelling with the gods
of the afterlife

Set laws like these for men to obey.

I didn't think that you, being just a man,
Could override the unchanging divine laws.

Of course I knew I must die. Why not?

And if I die before my time, I count that
gain.

Meeting death is no grief to me.

But if I failed in my loving duty to my
brother,

Then I would grieve. . . .

Everyone in Thebes would say they approve
of what I have done

If fear of you were not sealing their lips.
Tyrants inspire such fear. . . .⁵

A little later, Haemon, the King's son and fiancé of Antigone, bears witness to his father that she spoke the truth. Trying to persuade Creon to forgive her, he says:

I have heard people everywhere
whispering.

And I know how the whole city mourns
her fate.

People are saying, "She, of all women
least deserving it

Suffers the most horrible death for the
noblest deed.

Is she not worthy of some golden honor?⁶

Give Antigone all credit for her blazing courage. But she has other less attractive traits, as extremely courageous people often have; she is an egoist, unreasonable, insensitive to other people's feelings; she feverishly embraces martyrdom; and at the end her defiance fades into self-pity. Ironically her enemy, the king, is almost exactly her emotional counterpart. The clash of two such wills leads inevitably to disaster. Courage, Sophocles seems to say, is heroic but it is not enough!

When tribal society emerged from the stage of invasion and plunder to that of peaceful communication, another virtue became increasingly important: mental ingenuity. There is no doubt whatever who best embodied this quality: Odysseus, the man of many devices, diplo-

matic, patient, sometimes guileful; as a result of his extensive travels, *plein d'usage et de raison*. By his quick wits he dealt successfully with every emergency: Circe and the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, the Lotus Eaters, the Cyclops, shipwreck, the arrogant suitors who had preempted his house, even Hades. He was not only an adventurer and explorer, he was the first businessman in literature, typifying the rising mercantile class which had to rely on shrewdness in order to compete with the landed aristocrats who were entrenched in power. Of course Odysseus was himself an aristocrat, but of a new generation. Throughout the *Odyssey* there are references to him as a man concerned with acquiring wealth; and on the island of Phaeacia, when the champion wrestler taunts him with being no athlete, but merely a trader, he does not deny the second charge, but disproves the first by breaking the local discus record.

Odysseus' appeal was to the common man, for he represented to ordinary people the success possible to anyone who uses his wits. Odysseus was no handsome, youthful hero. A short, stocky man, middle-aged, even growing bald, he, like the hedgehog in Archilochus' epigram, could rely on only one weapon for success, but that one thing was enough.

Now, I AM WELL AWARE of the danger in trying to draw historical analogies and in over-simplification, but I venture to suggest that there have been three similar elements in our American cultural development, and three similar types of myth. We, too, had our beginnings in invasion and plunder, and have become immensely powerful; we have had plenty of conflicts requiring moral as well as physical courage; and we have developed an economy relying for its success on intellectual ingenuity and enterprise.

My choice of stories to illustrate these three elements will be somewhat arbitrary; doubtless you can think of

better ones. There is a wide range, from riverman Mike Fink and the Hunters of Kentucky to such current heroes as Orphan Annie and Pogo. But the ones I have chosen are at least typical and suggestive.⁷

For the power motif we need go no farther than a hero of early Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin: Paul Bunyan, a man of mighty, even superhuman, strength, a New World Heracles. Let us grant that the factual basis for the myth is slender, in spite of Carl Sandburg's hailing him as "a creation of the bookless people, as old as the hills, young as the alphabet." About any actual Paul Bunyan little is known, and the original stories were limited chiefly to lumberjack jargon and unprintable profanity. The Paul Bunyan we know is largely the creation of an advertising firm since 1914, with the purpose of increasing the sales of a lumber company. To it have been added various tall exploits, from many parts of the country, including the oil fields of Texas. But, regardless of the facts, Paul Bunyan emerges, in the words of one of his admirers, as "a symbol of American size, strength, and ingenuity, threatening to supplant Uncle Sam." According to another advertising expert, he is "powerful as Heracles, indomitable as Spartacus, bellowing like a furious Titan, raging among the Queen's troops like Samson among the Philistines." The adventures attributed to him start with the super-lumberman:

He was the Kingpin of 'em all,
The greatest logger in the land;
He had a punch in either hand
And licked more men and drove more
miles
And got more drunk in more new styles
Than any other peavey prince
Before, or then, or ever since.

(Douglas Mallock)

He put 100 million feet of logs on skids
in one winter, he pulled the curves of
rivers straight, he combed his beard
with a pine tree. Like Heracles, he had
a robust sense of humor, and liked
practical jokes. But Paul Bunyan the

lumberman, once the advertising experts really got to work on him, soon became Paul Bunyan the mechanical and industrial genius, using mass production in the logging industry, and laying a pipeline to feed his cattle directly into the Chicago stockyards. So he symbolizes not only tremendous power, but specifically industrial power. And if this Paul Bunyan is the product of high-pressure advertising, is he for that reason any less a national hero?

An interesting variant of the power myth, more from the point of view of the workers than the National Association of Manufacturers, is the story of the Tennessee negro, John Henry. He is said to have driven steel with two twenty-pound hammers, one in each hand, with the speed of lightning, for ten hours at a stretch; but instead of utilizing machines, as Paul Bunyan did, John Henry lived as a rugged individualist, challenged the machines and died after besting a steam drill in digging Big Ben Tunnel for the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. In 35 minutes, "according to a well-informed source," the machine drilled a nine-foot hole, but—

De man dat invented de steam drill
Thought he was mighty fine.
John Henry drove his 15 feet
And the steam drill only made 9.

The victory, however, was a temporary one. John Henry's effort caused his death, and since then no man has successfully defied the machines. It is interesting to note that in both of these power myths there are none of the subtler traits attributed to Heracles. Neither Paul Bunyan nor John Henry is distinguished for any concern about the general welfare. Both men are egotistical braggarts who rely on incredible strength for their triumphs. Both illustrate what is often called a typically American exaggeration, an uncritical devotion to sheer size and energy.

Don't imagine that power myths are fading out of our national picture. On the contrary. The best contemporary

examples can be found in our so-called "comic strips." Some of them are actually based on the Greek Heracles and the American Paul Bunyan. But a casual inspection, (and I found it impossible to pursue this research more than casually) of such original ones as Dick Tracy, Steve Roper, Nick Haliday, Alley Oop, Superman and the Space-men, reveals an appeal of a far more sadistic sort; brutal violence is the leit-motif. And of course radio and television endlessly elaborate on similar plots and characters. According to the preliminary report of the Senate Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, children are being exposed to constant crime and violence on television, and we are justified in being alarmed over the effect of such power-myths.

For an example of courage it is hard to select one American hero-myth. Undoubtedly the most picturesque would be the story of the homespun backwoodsman, Colonel Davy Crockett, fearless as a hunter, soldier, member of Congress and opponent of Andrew Jackson. Unfortunately his courage in fighting for many good causes has been largely overshadowed by his reputation for tall stories and smart-aleck boasting. On a mediocre level, the Horatio Alger stories might be cited; to my youthful generation they represented the kind of courage (*Pluck and Luck, Strive and Succeed*) that won at least financial success. But the real record of American courage is, I think, straight history rather than myth; it is the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the revolt against the British authority, the conquering of the frontier, the fortitude of the immigrant. It is everything we commemorate when we sing "the home of the brave."

I shall turn to animal folk-lore for our example of intellectual ingenuity (animals have always played a considerable role in mythology), and take the negro saga of Brer Rabbit. The popular version has been told by Joel Chandler Harris in his Uncle Remus stories, but there are many less literary

accounts which have been collected by folklorists.⁸ It may seem absurd to equate Brer Rabbit with Odysseus, but actually they have much in common. Neither is heroic in the grand manner; they are inferior in many respects to their adversaries; both win their victories by their wits. The ingenuity of Brer Rabbit is obviously of a simpler sort than that of Odysseus; it is often mere "smartiness," whereas Odysseus used his broad experience of men and situations to deal shrewdly with all sorts of complex problems. His was that ingenuity which becomes insight. But he also loved to exercise his mind, as a violinist does his fingers and his bowing, just to keep its responses quick and its coordination sure. So, in his own blithe fashion, did Brer Rabbit.

Brer Rabbit of course beats Brer Wolf and Brer B'ar, but he even humiliates clever Brer Fox, using him as a riding-horse, robbing him of his game, escaping from the Tar-Baby trap ("Brer Fox ain't never kotch 'im yet, en w'at's mo', honey, he ain't gwinter."), and, in perhaps the best story of all, when trapped in the bottom of a well he induces Brer Fox to come down in one bucket, assuring him that the fishing down there is fine, thus raising Brer Rabbit out of the well in the other bucket.

Dis is de way de worril goes,
Some goes up en some goes down,

sings Brer Rabbit, as the buckets pass each other halfway up the well. How true—but it's the keen-witted who can be counted on to reach the top.

Although such myths are compensatory, first told by people who especially needed the assurance that the weak and unprivileged can win over men of position and power, they, like the story of Odysseus, give that same reassurance to all of us little people. That is why we like them, and why Brer Rabbit has become a national, not merely a negro folk hero.

Are such myths now outmoded? Far from it! Man has always been a myth-

making animal, influenced far more by heroes with a warmly human appeal than by abstract principles; and as people in the past have enjoyed and profited from stories which personified their ambitions and satisfied their longing, so we shall continue to make use of the myths which meet our needs. Of them we have a large treasury, more or less historically true, psychologically profoundly true, which can summon us to thought and stir us to action. Some came from Europe, including ancient Greece; others have arisen out of our New World experience; others we are in the process of making today. Some of the best ones were created, as we have seen, in pioneer times, and illustrate pioneer virtues needed for success under trying circumstances. They are, for the most part, optimistic, and are liberally seasoned with humor. Some of them will surely serve to entertain and invigorate us as we confront our own trying circumstances. For we, too, are suddenly pioneers again, in an incredibly brutal world, and we shall need all the help we can get, from myth as well as from history and immediate experience, if we are to face our ominous frontier with power, courage and insight.

University of Wisconsin

¹ *Metaphysics* 1073f.

² A good brief summary of interpretations is in H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London, 1950). Anthropological theories have been interestingly overworked in R. Graves, *The Greek Myths*, 2 vols. (London, 1955).

³ See "The Greek Happy Warrior," in R. E. Arnold, ed., *Essays Presented to James A. Kleist* (St. Louis, 1946) pp. 1-11.

⁴ *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann* (Everyman ed.) pp. 177 f. In his sensitive analysis in *Sophocles, A Study of Heroic Humanism* (Cambridge, 1951), C. H. Whitman also over-idealizes Antigone.

⁵ *Antigone* 447-55, 460-62, 465-68, 504-506.

⁶ 892-95, 699.

⁷ American folklore source material for much of what follows will be found in B. A. Botkin, *A Treasury of American Folklore* (New York, 1944). See also D. G. Hoffman, *The Last of the Frontier Demigods* (Philadelphia, 1952).

⁸ See Botkin.

THE FORUM

editor MARGARET M. FORBES

THE COMPREHENSION APPROACH

These are excerpts of one contribution to the discussion of "Strategy and Tactics in Second-Year Latin" held in February by the Illinois Classical Conference, meeting in Chicago. The well-planned panel was directed by Professor D. Herbert Abel of Loyola University. Next year's volume will present other aspects of this discussion.

GOALS determine methods. In discussing approaches to the teaching of Latin it is therefore necessary to be perfectly clear in knowing what we are trying to achieve. It is our basic assumption that "the indispensable primary immediate objective in the study of Latin is progressive development of ability to read and understand Latin."¹ Any other goal, however necessary and worthy, must therefore be considered secondary. Our students must first of all be taught to read Latin. "By the reading of Latin is meant the comprehension of the thought in Latin, whether or not this is accompanied or followed by translation into English."²

It is up to the teacher to insure thoroughness in the student's comprehension. There are a number of activities, which, if faithfully practised, tend to bring about this result.

First and foremost is the practice of oral reading. Every assignment should be read aloud, preferably more than once. The student should develop the habit of taking in the meaning of each word or phrase just as it stands, always grasping the force of each word as indicated by its form or position. No attempt should be made at rearranging the words or at finding the subject and verb before proceeding. Each thought, though incomplete in itself, is put on a mental hook, as it were, until the end of the sentence, when everything should fall into place.

The student should follow this same procedure in all of his own study preparation; unfamiliar words should be looked up and difficult constructions analyzed only when the meaning cannot be grasped directly from the context. Then the difficult passage should be re-read, several times, so that

the mind becomes accustomed to the construction and begins to develop a sensitivity to the language.

In the class recitation the student is called upon to read orally the assigned portion. It is also a good idea to have the entire class read in unison. The teacher now tests comprehension by pertinent questions. These may call for a paraphrase in the student's own words of the meaning of the sentence or paragraph. This is followed by more specific questions on the meaning of key words or phrases. Then should follow another oral reading with due attention to proper emphasis, pauses, etc., concluding with a repetition of unison reading by the entire class. The students should be encouraged now to re-read the assignment silently as part of their homework, making sure they understand it without reference to translation.

A worthwhile variation of this procedure is to question the pupil in Latin, the pupil answering in Latin. This should be done frequently, especially when the assigned material presents no particular difficulties. In this connection it may be said that the attainment of the ability to understand Latin at sight is best developed by much reading of easy Latin rather than by limited reading of difficult materials. Supplementary readings may be used, if necessary.

After, and not before, the student has demonstrated his comprehension of the assignment, matters of grammar and syntax are discussed and drilled, whenever necessary. This, too, is the proper place for vocabulary review and drill. Obviously, if this method is to be successful, of necessity it must have already been begun on the first day of the first-year course. By daily use throughout the secondary program, the habit of reading for comprehension must be developed and maintained.

One of the ultimate goals of the study of Latin is the "increased ability to speak and write correct and effective English through training in adequate translation."³ But to achieve this goal, translation must follow comprehension and must not be looked upon as a method of testing comprehension. It

must be remembered that "translation involves the expression in English of a thought already comprehended in Latin, and not a mere exchange of verbal symbols."⁴ Professor Skiles hit the nail on the head when he wrote: "What is the place of translation? First, reading and comprehension should always precede translation; second, only parts of the Latin should be translated; and third, the translation should be an exercise for the development of the power of thinking and of expressing thought through the process of putting into adequate English a thought already comprehended in Latin; fourth, the review lesson probably furnishes the most practical material for translation."⁵

True, the method we have suggested is not easy. It makes more demands on the teacher. But it has its rewards. The "dead" language comes alive, and so does the class.

THEODORE P. KLAMMER

Walther Lutheran High School
Melrose Park, Illinois

¹ *The Classical Investigation, Part I, General Report* (Princeton, 1924) p. 32.

² *Ibid.* p. 93.

³ *Ibid.* p. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 47.

⁵ Jonah W. D. Skiles, "The Teaching of the Reading of Latin in the Latin Word-Order," *CJ* 39 (1943) 103.

LATIN PEDAGOGY IN ITALY

A USEFUL BOOK (paper bound) for American teachers who like to know what their colleagues in other countries are doing, is *Didattica del Latino*. This is a symposium published by Angelo Signorelli in Rome, 1955, and edited by the *Movimento Circoli della Didattica*. Leading Italian teachers of Latin discuss various methods of teaching at some length: the Crouzet system in France; the "English" method; and some controlled experiments of their own, together with analyses of general problems confronting the Latin teacher. Pighi has a chapter on varieties of Latin pronunciation to be found in European schools. There is also a representative bibliography of recent books and articles on methodology from France and Germany as well as Italy, including the demonstration texts. Even non-readers of Italian should be able to get some ideas from it. The book can probably be purchased most easily through Stechert-Hafner of New York.

ETA SIGMA PHI MEDALS

WOULD YOU LIKE to reward the outstanding students in your classes in fourth-semester and eighth-semester Latin? Such an award is available in the Eta Sigma Phi medals, which are distributed by Eta Sigma Phi Fraternity. The awards were first offered to high-school Latin teachers in 1932 and since then they have been used repeatedly by those who have once awarded them. For students in second-year Latin there is a small bronze medal which costs \$1.25. For fourth-year Latin there are two medals: a small silver medal which sells for \$1.25 and a large silver medal for \$3.75. All medals have the same design: on the obverse is represented the Victory of Paeonius with the initials of the Fraternity and the words *MIHI RES, NON ME REBUS* from Horace, *Epistles* 1.1.19, and on the reverse a representation of the Parthenon with the words *PRAESTANTIA LINGUARUM CLASSICARUM*.

This is the only medal which may be purchased by any Latin teacher to give as an award for outstanding work. It is made available by the Fraternity in order to encourage the study of Latin in high school. The only requirement is that the student who receives the medal must have made an average of "A" (or 90 plus) during the year.

Some teachers award the medal to all students who have an average of 90 or above in the respective years, while others award them only to the best student in each class. The awards are usually made on Awards Day if possible, in order to bring to the attention of the student body the Latin Department itself, the superior students in that department, and the fact that such an award is made. A typical comment about the use of the medal on Awards Day is that of the teacher who said: "I am so happy to have something to award my Latin students since Mademoiselle always has an award for her students which she gets from the French government."

In some cities where there are several high schools a Latin contest is conducted at some time in the spring among the best students from the various high schools and the medal is awarded to the winner of the contest. Other schools award the medal to that student who writes the best paper on an assigned topic.

The original idea of the award was to encourage the study of Latin in high school and this is still its primary purpose. It has the additional value of rewarding outstanding work and thus encouraging better scholarship among the students. At this time

when we feel so urgently the need to encourage students to take four years of Latin, in the hope that some will major in it and thus become Latin teachers and relieve the acute shortage of teachers, the medal has the added significance of assisting in the recruitment program for Latin teachers.

The medals may be purchased from the Executive Secretary of Eta Sigma Phi Fraternity, Professor H. R. Butts, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham 4, Alabama.

THE ACLS CLASSICS PANEL

DURING THE PAST YEAR the American Council of Learned Societies has formed panels of high-school and college teachers to report to its Committee on the Secondary Schools concerning "secondary school curriculum problems in the fields of English, foreign languages, social studies, art, and music."

The Classics Panel met on March 7-8 for discussion of issues raised by individual work-papers. Its members: Carolyn E. Bock, Montclair State College, N.J.; Grace A. Crawford, University of Connecticut High School, Storrs; Marjorie E. King, Springfield Township Senior High School, Philadelphia; John L. Heller, University of Illinois; (Chairman) Paul L. MacKendrick, University of Wisconsin; and Norman T. Pratt, Jr., Indiana University. Discussion was further stimulated by the participation of Mary P. Thompson, Glastonbury Public Schools, Connecticut (member of the Modern Language Panel); Frederick Burkhardt, President, ACLS; Robert Hoopes, Vice-President, ACLS; Robert M. Lumiansky, Tulane University, Chairman of the Board, ACLS, and of the Committee on the Secondary Schools; and Chester L. Neudling, Specialist for the Humanities, U.S. Office of Education.

This is an unofficial account by one of the participants.

1. Appropriately, the first issue was the prime one of recruiting Latin teachers. Mr. Heller reviewed the findings of CETT published in *CJ*, volume 51, and cited a few, more recent studies indicating that the CETT statistics are generally reliable. Data from placement bureaus continue to show that the shortage is desperate. "Moreover, with many present teachers approaching retirement, with school populations increasing rapidly, and with welcome signs of generally rising educational standards, the present imbalance is bound to get worse."

Measures to alleviate the emergency are being applied. Administrators are releasing trained teachers from other work. Teachers are being reclaimed from family life or other activities. Many of these will need refresher courses. Correspondence courses in Latin are active. Some of the elementary courses should be redesigned for this purpose. Latin teachers themselves are making valiant efforts to encourage their best students to become teachers. State Latin contests are most valuable, in providing evidence for scholarships, incentive for raising standards, emphasis upon the vital third and fourth years, and identification of the "honors" Latin students graduating each year.

More effort is crucial. College departments must develop even more active interest, making early contacts with prospective teachers, visiting schools, supporting individual teachers, devising outstanding programs which link Latin with adequate training in other, frequently combining subjects. Above all, college departments must improve their capacity to attract the best undergraduate students.

Discussion indicated the importance of having in each state a person working toward such ends as making sure that there is well-taught Latin in the program of consolidated schools. There was some doubt about the value of "refresher" correspondence courses and some types of in-service training (taken for "credits, not training"). Mr. Lumiansky described a Tulane activity which takes college teachers of mathematics to the secondary-school teachers. There is much potentiality in the idea of combining college-level training in the communities (extension centers) with workshops on campus.

Mr. Burkhardt and Mr. Hoopes brought out the facts that there is serious weakness in the terminal two-years Latin program, and that the basic need is to improve the climate for the study of Latin, English literature, etc. It was felt that the high-school Latin curriculum has not kept pace with other developments, and is at a disadvantage in the general competition for students' time. It is essential to discover what makes successful Classics programs successful, and to emphasize the intrinsic values of Latin rather than such by-products as vocabulary-building.

2. Various issues concerning standards of certification for the secondary-school teacher were raised by Miss King. Successful teaching comes from enthusiasm, breadth and depth of preparation, and skill in communication. *Ideally*, the teacher should have had four years of high-school Latin, a col-

lege major, work in descriptive linguistics, a course in Latin methodology, and experience in practice-teaching. He should have had training in the use of oral and written Latin. However, this ideal cannot now be completely realized. State departments of public instruction are studying changes in standards of certification. Classical organizations must learn what is being done in each state and cooperate to evolve a desirable program of certification in view of the present shortage of teachers, and yet provide for the highest standards as soon as possible.

Miss King developed a timetable for minimum standards. By September, 1963, the beginning teacher should offer for provisional certification: two years of high-school Latin (equivalents would be allowed throughout), twenty-four semester hours of college Latin, a course in descriptive linguistics and one in methodology, practice-teaching, and satisfactory competence in the use of oral and written Latin. By 1967, the prerequisite should be increased to four years of high-school Latin. Within three years after the certificate is granted, the candidate for the permanent certificate should be required to offer at least six additional credits in graduate Latin and should be certified as a competent teacher. Requirements were sketched also for the former teacher returning to the classroom.

Also specified were procedures for effecting the improvement of standards. There should be immediate study of certification-requirements in each state and proposed changes, and of the position of Latin study relative to other subjects. Minimum standards should be framed by a classical committee. State and regional classical associations should appoint groups to work with departments of public instruction for effecting such standards. Especially immediate is the need to develop standards of certification for teachers who have not taught recently. Because of the importance of competence in the use of oral Latin, steps should be taken promptly to introduce appropriate materials and methods into college curricula and workshops.

But raising standards is not enough. If Caesar is often taught in a vacuum, one reason is that the teacher has not given Caesar a thought since his own high-school days. Every teacher should have courses on the commonly-read authors interpreted in the light of their literary, political and social significance.

These ideas stirred earnest discussion of oral Latin. For this group, the importance of oral method was not itself in doubt: it

was regarded as the most natural avenue to the learning of a foreign language. The sound of Latin is much neglected in most teaching today, and resulting weaknesses can be seen in our students. But the point was made that the oral-aural method should not be identical for all foreign languages, and that its greatest value for Latin teaching lies in the development of selected techniques which will produce better grammatical analysis and greater reading facility.

3. Mr. Pratt's work-paper dealt with introducing new ideas into secondary-school teaching and curriculum. Attention was confined to Latin, but with the thought that improvements in the status of Latin will provide approaches to the problem of Greek study. Again the point was made that the best method of teaching Latin is from the beginning to use some aspects of the oral-aural technique for the learning of sounds, formations and structure. Some realistic modification of the full oral method is necessary (though difficult), because teachers will always vary in the extent to which they wish to use the method; in any event there never should be one method. Two main modifications were suggested: (1) for use in combination with the "traditional" approach, to ensure that Latin is taught as sound; (2) for the teacher who chooses to emphasize the oral-aural. These modifications would be controlled by the objective of preparing for the reading of original texts.

Also needed: new texts for the teaching of the traditional authors with new emphases; a new series of readers for years 2-4, of which at least one should be used each year in combination with the traditional material (these readers might optionally be used to replace Caesar, but Cicero and Virgil should remain the focus of years 3 and 4); up-to-date materials in ancient history, mythology and archeology, correlated with regular course-material. The formidable steps necessary to formulate such new needs and to effect such changes were outlined.

4. In connection with teacher training in workshops, Mr. MacKendrick sketched the conditions of Latin study which involve needs as acute, and educationally as important, as those now widely recognized and subsidized in the sciences, mathematics and modern languages. He proposed a series of subsidized four-week summer institutes drawing teachers from all over the nation. Subsidy would be provided for participants. The curriculum for such institutes: scrutiny of the application of linguistics to the teaching of Latin in terms of the physical facilities available to teachers; choice of courses in

Caesar, Cicero and Virgil (but with some consideration of possible alternatives) emphasizing profitable new approaches to these texts; Roman History or Roman Archeology (teachers indicate these two as their chief lack) with practical information concerning sources of slides, etc. The staff would consist of experts in these fields who are concerned about the important and difficult task of the secondary-school teacher.

Various refinements were added by the group. These institutes should be attended by influential teachers with various types of training. Important new curricular developments are to be stressed. There was confidence that subsidy is available for such training programs planned in the context of humanistic study. [Subsequently to our meeting, Mr. Burkhardt and Mr. Lumiansky have been in contact with foundations concerning support for a number of such workshops in Art, English, Latin and Music.]

5. Other aspects of teacher training were treated by Miss Bock from the viewpoint of teachers colleges. Since many Latin teachers are trained in teachers colleges, it is essential to devise a superior program in this context. The curriculum at Montclair was cited as a typical present program: the Latin major requires 33 semester hours (including one course in methods) on top of at least two years in high school; the minor, 20. One course in elementary linguistics is also required of all; ancient and medieval history are recommended. The Latin courses are designed to cover a range of material from Plautus through some medieval Latin, to sample the principal genres, to allow some depth in a single author and to provide a foundation for high-school teaching and graduate study. The student majoring in Latin is advised to choose a minor sequence which not only completes a good teaching-combination but also strengthens preparation in the major. The subject matter in the Latin classes is oriented toward teaching through special assignments: e.g., from an author being studied to select and edit five passages which would be appropriate for high-school classes. Classes are conducted so as to suggest good teaching techniques: e.g., oral use of Latin in class, use of the language laboratory to improve pronunciation, etc. Through the four years, observation of master high-school teachers is coordinated with the student's course work.

The ideal program would extend and deepen the training to include such areas as art and archeology, literary criticism, Greek, ancient philosophy and science. Major obstacles are limitations of staff and time. Possible solutions are: a five-year program;

the counterpart of the Yale Master in Teaching program (i.e., by adding a fifth year of content courses to a Bachelor's degree in Education); Saturday or summer seminars on teachers-college campuses for the undergraduate major, taught by experts in important fields not ordinarily offered by the college.

Miss Bock also brought up a number of immediate problems. There is an increasing number of liberal-arts graduates requesting courses for teacher-certification in the extensions and graduate schools of teachers colleges; the Latin department should see that these candidates have a methods and materials course and do supervised student-teaching. There are many teachers coming to the classroom who had their training some time ago and know little of the newer methods and materials; for such purposes, late afternoon, evening or Saturday classes should be available. Teachers taking credits in guidance, etc., to qualify them for the next salary-step should be feeding into subject-matter graduate courses.

There is evidence that the junior-high Latin teacher will become a prominent member of the team: Latin I may well be moved down to grade 7, with one credit given for the Latin taken in grades 7 and 8, to avoid conflict with starting a modern language in grade 9 for the four-year sequence recommended in the Conant report. But there appear to be no programs for training the junior-high teacher of Latin. We cannot simply divide Latin I into two halves for grades 7 and 8; new methods, new materials are required.

It would be exceedingly valuable to have in one teacher-training institution in each state a person whose job it is to teach one demonstration high-school class and the methods course, to supervise student-teaching and spend the balance of his program as Latin coordinator within the schools of the state.

Questions to Mr. Neudling as to whether summer Latin programs could be combined with subsidized modern-language programs brought a negative answer. The group went on to say that it was pointless to try to pull Latin in the back door of the National Defense Education Act for such purposes. Rather, the Act should be criticized as showing a short-range view with no recognition of the general intellectual provincialism.

It was indicated that there are currently some Latin programs in grade 8; the texts range from none at all to those composed by the teacher. "General language" programs are on the way out.

6. Miss Crawford spoke on texts and tests.

First, course objectives in our better schools are not wholly adequate. They should be broader, yet more realistic: the chief objective of language study must always be linguistic; important also are the aesthetic-cultural values to be gained from reading Latin literature as the foundation of a great literary tradition. We must recapture the synthesis of linguistics and literature which was characteristic of Renaissance humanism.

There should be different course-requirements for different kinds of schools and students. Requirements should be set up flexibly so as not to stifle experimentation and creativity (the N.Y. State Regents do stifle). Variations in student-ability call for probably three levels of objectives, but we should not try to provide for those of such limited ability that the time might better be devoted to improving mastery of English. Existing elementary texts have many inadequacies: fragmentation of material; unrealistic Latin reading-material; excessive time spent on easy or minor matters at the beginning; insufficient reading-matter, poorly correlated with grammar; narrow range of vocabulary and content; lack of varied practice-material; insufficient coverage of derivation and other linguistic matters. Texts for more advanced levels: too little variety for choice in reading; too little opportunity to use Latin in working with the text; no opportunity to see the range and variety of Latin literature.

Some teachers are turning to new materials based on a linguistic approach. For those who do not wish or are not permitted to do this, some of the difficulties can be alleviated. The well-versed teacher can give broad concepts of such matters as case use. Reading matter can be supplemented by introducing quotations from Latin authors and by using readers containing better or more suitable material. Oral use of the language can be attained by question and answer on pictures and on texts being read (correctness is the *sine qua non*). Pattern practices

may be devised; these are ineffectual upon small fragments of material, and should be used in preview and review.

For these purposes, teachers need: texts adapting the linguistic approach in a variety of ways; abundant oral and written exercises to accompany present texts; texts of authors edited with notes in easy Latin and questions in Latin; such texts should be kept compact, so that variety is possible.

Many standardized tests are so close to current texts as to be useless in evaluating command of language attained in other ways. The CEB type of comprehension-question is the least confining. We need tests to encourage a broader concept of the language, the ability to handle the language in responses not limited to conventional translation, rapid reading and comprehension, aesthetic appreciation.

In the discussion, it was said that for the objective of reading, the oral approach may be slower, but produces higher competence and confidence. Miss Crawford reported that the Connecticut curriculum group is halfway through an analysis of American and English readers. "Some national body" should evaluate existing texts and create new ones as necessary. For testing, the published College Boards of 1938-1941 were recommended as containing a variety of passages for translation at all levels. For prognosis of success in Latin, the Iowa Basic Skills tests were mentioned. Miss Thompson reported that they had had 26/27ths success with 27 pupils chosen to study Russian on the basis of a 117 IQ or above.

As THE READER will have noticed, no holds were barred in all of this. Mr. MacKendrick will be glad to receive letters expressing your reactions. The official report will appear in an ACLS Newsletter. We came away grateful to the ACLS for the opportunity to examine our own house, and trusting that we had explored some specifications of even better building for the future.

NTP

NOTES

THE ONOMATOPOEIA OF AENEID 3. 699-715

ONE OF THE PREDOMINANT leitmotifs of the *Aeneid* is simply stated in the lumbering *sententia* of line 33 of the first book: *Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*. As Book 1 goes on, Vergil plays again and again on the same doleful note with the obvious design of hammering the burden home in the minds of his readers: *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto* (3), *multa quoque et bello passus* (5), *tot volvere casus* (9), *tot adire labores* (10), and the like. The Trojans find no rest: *multosque per annos/ errabant acti fatis maria omnia circum* (31-32). Buffeted by the gale called up by Aeolus, Aeneas wishes that he had died at Troy: *O terque quaterque beati . . .* (94-101) and that his troubles were over. His people are exhausted: *Defessi Aeneadae* (157); his ships worn out: *fessas navis* (168). But the Trojans must bear up: *Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis* (207), and it is this last mentioned hope of future repose, expressed in other passages as well, which enables them to endure and which shows again, by contrast, the bitterness of the endless toil which they are undergoing. They are some day to reach Latium, *sedes ubi fata quietas/ ostendunt* (205-206). Venus in sympathy cites to Jupiter the good fortune of Antenor: *nunc placida compositus pace quiescit* (249). Aeneas, now in Book 3, compares his lot with that of Helenus and Andromache as he bids them farewell: *Vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta/ iam sua; nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur./ Vobis, parta quies, nullum maris aequor arandum,/ arva neque Ausoniae semper cedia retro/ quaerenda* (493-97). Back in Book 1, we can all but hear the deep sigh of fatigue with which Venus in pity for her son and his people asks

Jupiter: *Quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?* (241).

If we fail to experience vicariously the feeling of utter exhaustion, the painful anguish of breathlessness, the desperation of the Trojans, either Vergil has fallen short of his obvious purpose of making us so feel, or . . . we have not read his poem with sufficient deliberation and attention to detail. And in some instances this may be true for one rather deplorable reason: we do not often read Latin poetry aloud today, as it was originally intended to be read.

There is one passage in which Vergil does his utmost to make his reader feel just how weary the Trojans, represented by Aeneas, really are and how fatigued the hero himself is for another, more immediate reason, and he comes off with great success, if his readers read him out *viva voce*. The eye and the mind alone cannot be trusted to recognize the impression which the poet is striving to create nor the machinery by which he accomplishes his end.

It is with great reluctance that Aeneas at the court of Dido begins his long recitation of the *casus* and *errores* (Dido's own words in 1. 754-55) of the Trojans: *Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem!* (2. 3), he says to the queen as he prepares to retrace the saga from the day Troy was sacked, a narrative that occupies all but a few lines of two entire books, a total of 1,507 lines in all. At the risk of seeming facetious where humor is ill-fitting, i.e., in a discussion of Vergiliana, one might venture to suggest that Aeneas meant *infandum* to have a more literal meaning as well as its derived one.

By the time Aeneas has come to the

end of his tale, two facts are certain: (1) his *renovatio doloris* has served only to accentuate his feelings of futility, his pity for his exhausted followers and his own sense of frustration and weariness, and (2) the effort required to continue speaking for so long a time has surely had a physical and emotional effect upon him: he must indeed have been somewhat out of breath. And this Vergil brings out to us in most vivid fashion, but his method has been, as it had to be, an appeal to the ear, not to the reading eye, except insofar as an occasional reader here or there might unconsciously make the transfer necessary for a realization of what the poet is doing and what the whole of his meaning is.

Aeneas enters the "home-stretch," as it were, of his story at 3. 692, where he begins with a reference to the Trojan stopover at Ortygia on the south-east coast of Sicily, where Syracuse later stood (692-96). Next the passing of Helorum is noticed (698) and then comes the passage of interest here, full transcription of which is essential:

Hinc altas cautes proiectaque saxa
Pachyni
radimus, et fatis numquam concessa
moveri 700
apparet Camerina procul campique Geloi,
immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.
Arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima
longe
moenia, magnanimum quondam generator
equorum;
teque datis linquo ventis, palmosa
Selinus, 705
et vada dura lego saxis Lilybeia caecis.
Hinc Drepani me portus et inlaetabilis ora
accipit. Hic pelagi tot tempestatibus actus
heu, genitorem, omnis curae casusque
levamen
amitto Anchisen. Hic me, pater optime,
fessum 710
deseris, heu, tantis nequiquam erepte
periclis!
Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda
moneret,
hos mihi praedixit luctus, non dira
Celaeno.
Hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta
viarum,
hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit
oris. 715

It will be obvious from the use of italics in this quotation that attention is drawn to the frequency of words which begin with the letter *h*. It is contended that this element, which may be classified as onomatopoeia, is purposely intended by Vergil to create the impression of weariness that has overwhelmed Aeneas here at the end of his long narration. The sound of *h* repeated again and again is designed to represent shortage of breath or the act of sighing brought on by sheer depletion of energy both physical and spiritual. It may be as well that the mere repetition of the same sound, irrespective of the fact that this sound is specifically that of the letter *h*, is meant to do its share toward depicting the monotony of the long and frustrating Odyssey of the Trojans from place to place. The poet's artistry in this passage is nothing short of amazing. A brief analysis of his method will reveal the subtle means whereby he has succeeded in portraying Aeneas as he must have felt as he brought his lengthy account to an end.

The first word which we shall consider is *hinc* at the opening of line 699, the first inkling of Aeneas' exhaustion. Now seven lines (700-706) intervene, none of which begins with or contains a word beginning with *h*. The physical manifestation of Aeneas' weariness has occurred once and then subsides as do such symptoms when in the incipient stage. At 707 *hinc* opens the line; the symptom recurs. In 708 *hic* appears, but, subtly, not now at the beginning, rather embedded within the line in the thesis of the second foot. Immediately hereupon the frequency begins to pick up. The next line, 709, begins with *heu*, the line following, 710, has *hic* in the third foot, the next, 711, *heu* in the thesis of the second, then 712 has both the fortuitous *Helenus* and, in addition, *horrenda*, followed immediately by 713 with *hos* as the first word, 714 with *hic* in the same position and *haec* in the fourth foot, and finally *hinc* brings in the last line of Aeneas' story, 715. Exclusive of the first in-

stance of a word with initial *h*, i.e., *hinc* in 699 with which we began above, we find that within the brief compass of nine lines (707-15), Vergil has used eleven words which begin with that letter. Further: no line is without at least one word with initial *h*, two lines contain two such words, and, significantly, five lines have words beginning with *h* in the first position. To be sure, two of the eleven examples are open to some question with regard to their effect on the auditory process, since required elision would probably somewhat attenuate the aspirate sound (712: *multa horrenda* and 714: *longarum haec*). Nonetheless, Vergil's purpose here is indisputable as is his success in attaining it — provided the poetry is read aloud.

Something must be said about the use of the aspirate sound in particular to create the effect which Vergil is endeavoring to produce. First, it goes without saying that the aspirate by its very nature has the sound of respiratory exertion of one kind or another. This, of course, is true because of the simple and natural fact that the mere inhalation and exhalation of the breath, even when quite unassociated with any added force induced by the stress of emotion or fatigue, produces a rough noise in the respiratory apparatus. From here the next logical step is the recognition of the fact that *h* is the initial letter of several words in Latin, the meanings of which are linked in some way with respiration or with emotions that cause a momentary increase in respiration. The following examples need no comment: *halo* (and *halito*), *hei!*, *hem!*, *heu!*, *heus!*, *hinnio*, *hio* (*hiatus*, *hisco*, *hiulus*) and *hui!* It is conceivable that the aspirate in *hic*, *haec*, *hoc* may have had its origin in the urge to stress the emotional force of the deictic demonstrative.¹

We have, then, interspersed throughout *Aen.* 3. 699-715 a most effective employment of onomatopoeia of a type much subtler than the classic and obvious *quadripedante putrem sonitu qua-*

tit ungula campum (8. 596) and others of the sort. We have as well a stern admonition that there are subtle elements of Vergil's music that may escape us unless we read him aloud. Vergil was a genius in his manipulation of the sounds of the Latin language, a tongue which has almost the same range from dulcet softness to brittle resonance as that which is so often admired in Castilian Spanish and yet so infrequently mentioned in connection with Latin itself. The music and charm of Spanish, and of Italian too, are there because these qualities were inherited from Latin. Of Vergil's feeling for sound, Jackson Knight has written brilliantly in his book *Roman Vergil*.² What he has to say is most pertinent to the matter discussed above and should be read by every teacher of the "lord of language," as Tennyson so aptly called the author of the *Aeneid*.³

WILLIAM T. AVERY

University of Maryland

¹ In the modern languages cf. Spanish, *jadear*, *jalear*, *jau!* and *jo!*; French *huer* and *houailler*, and German *hu*, *hu!* English *hey!*, *hoorah!*, and *ha*, *ha!* would also qualify for consideration.

² W. F. Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil*, 2nd ed. (London, 1944) pp. 242-53.

³ Alfred Lord Tennyson, "To Vergil," *The Poetic and Dramatic Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson* (Student's Cambridge Edition, ed. W. J. Rolfe [New York, 1898]) p. 511, stanza 2. The poem is more readily available in Knapp's edition of the *Aeneid*, p. 20.

THE DOCTOR'S DICTIONARY

DESPITE THE DEBUNKING by Lytton Strachey in *Eminent Victorians*, the name of Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby College, reformer of English public school education, and father of the poet Matthew Arnold, still commands attention. One or two details of his services to the Classics may prove of interest to readers. Thomas Arnold was the son of a Customs Collector stationed at the Isle of Wight, which produces the two entrances and four

daily tides which make Southampton the great port it is. The youthful Arnold saw the shipping vicissitudes of the Napoleonic Wars. His father died while he was himself but six years old. He had two years' schooling from a maternal aunt, then four years at what must have been a preparatory school in the English sense, and finally four years at the great public school, Winchester College (1807-1811). He was elected a scholar of Christ Church, Oxford and with this at the age of sixteen he began his lifelong connection with Oxford.

Oxford had but recently reformed itself, having substituted in 1800 testing written examinations for the medieval system of examination under which few, if any, ever failed. It is amazing how much in love some of our educationalists, who never heard of the Middle Ages, are with any system of examining which will have this desirable result. I do not know whether it was the whole student body of Christ Church (today the largest of the Oxford colleges) or just the scholars who formed the select band left largely free to control themselves and educate themselves and one another, to which the youthful Arnold belonged. Two other members were the famous John Keble, who has a college named after him today and John Taylor Coleridge, a famed judge. We learn that in addition to classical subjects they discussed all kinds of political, literary and philosophical topics. Their favorite physical activity was rambling ("skirmishing" was their word) over the countryside. I may add that the tradition of walking, even the long walk from Oxford to Cambridge, was still alive in the time of John Buchan, Lord Tweedsmuir. It may have died since, because one reads of the modern Oxford student as possessing at least a share in a decrepit second-hand car, if not a whole 1959 Cadillac convertible in the manner of our more fortunate freshman girls.

After three years at Christ Church,

Arnold got a First Class degree in Classics and a year later was elected a Fellow of Oriel College. He resided at Oriel on his Fellowship for four years (1815-1819), picking up in 1815 and 1817 respectively the Chancellor Prizes for Latin and English. In 1819 he left Oxford and took up residence at Laleham, Middlesex, a village only a little up-river from Hampton Court. In those days there was little traffic on the Thames at this point, so that it was suitable for swimming, boating and other rural diversions. Arnold proposed to live as a tutor, perhaps some persons would say a crammer, preparing young men for Oxford and Cambridge. Arnold related some of the examples of incredible ignorance exhibited by some of his charges, but I hope to show that, if conscientious and inspired slave-driving would make adequate scholars of them, Arnold was the man to do so. In 1818 he had become a Deacon of the Established Church as was befitting any one likely to make a career of public school or university teaching. In 1820 he married Mary Penrose, daughter of a clergyman. For about nine years of her married life Mrs. Arnold had to put up with the presence of her widowed mother-in-law, but possibly she was too busy having children to notice this lady much.

I shall for the moment pass over the Laleham days in order to summarize Arnold's career at Rugby. He had already been offered an undermastership at his old school, Winchester, and had turned it down when he was invited to apply for the vacant mastership (headmastership) at Rugby.

It was only after considerable hesitation that Arnold applied for the post. He would insist on a free rein, and he was not sure that the Governors wanted a man like that. Actually a statement by Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel College, that Arnold, if elected, would revolutionize education in England, caused the Board of Governors to choose Arnold.

That at least minor classic, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* by Thomas Hughes, is surely the best picture of Arnold's manner of reforming Rugby. Arnold clung to the classical education he himself had acquired at Winchester but, according to the writer on Thomas Arnold in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Arnold was the first public school headmaster to add to it Modern History, Modern Languages and Mathematics. Here Lytton Strachey plays the Devil's advocate and alleges that History got only one hour. It must be admitted that, if Tom Brown and his friends studied anything but Latin and Greek, Thomas Hughes does not mention it. Tom, however, was not yet in the Sixth Form. References in Thomas Arnold's *Correspondence* suggest that his own pupils in the Sixth Form did, some at least, make good progress in French and German. We may be sure that they did this without neglecting their Classics.

Readers of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* get an impression of the use the Doctor made of the Sixth Form in running and improving the moral tone of what was more or less a self-governing commonwealth of pupils outside the classrooms. However, it is to Dean Stanley that we turn for some glimpses of Arnold's relations with the Sixth Form as their teacher. "They [sc. former pupils] will recall the glance with which he looked around in a few moments of silence before the lessons began, and which seemed to speak of his sense of his own position and of theirs also as the heads of a great school; the attitude in which he stood, turning over the pages of Facciolati's *Lexicon* or Pole's *Synopsis*, with his eye fixed upon the boy who was pausing to give an answer. . . ."

Before "Facciolati's *Lexicon*" is commented on, it may be of interest to turn back to the Doctor's tutoring or cramming days at Laleham (1819-1828). Lessons began at 7 and continued until nearly 3 p.m. with an interval for breakfast. One imagines that this must have been more like lunch, but did they

begin their lessons on an empty stomach? Arnold then walked with his pupils, or possibly went on the river with them. Dinner was at 5:30 p.m. There was usually some lesson at 7 p.m. Tea was evidently after this hour since it was with the young men all around him in the drawing room that he would start to write, perhaps a sermon, perhaps a section of his *Roman History*.

Clearly the Doctor would need reference books for his own use as well as for the guidance of his pupils. One he bought in those days was "Facciolati's *Lexicon*" in four leather-bound volumes. This was the mistaken description of what we call Forcellini's *Lexicon Totius Latinitatis*, mistaken since it is believed that Forcellini only got some advice from his master Facciolati, so that the work is practically Forcellini's *in toto*.

The reason I know that the Doctor acquired this work is that, when I bought a Forcellini for a moderate price from a London dealer, I found inscribed in the first volume "T. Arnold, Laleham, 1820."

LESLIE F. SMITH

University of Oklahoma

CONCERNING TWO ODES OF HORACE: 1. 4 AND 4. 7

SUCH CLOSE PARALLELISM exists between Horace, *Carm.* 1. 4 (addressed to Sestius) and the same author's *Carm.* 4. 7 (addressed to Torquatus) that no person who has read both can fail to be struck by it. Both poems open with an announcement that winter is ended (1. 4. 1; 4. 7. 1). Both symbolize spring's joyous return in the uninhibited dancing of Nymphs and Graces (1. 4. 5-7; 4. 7. 5-6). In both, moreover, a shift to a more somber mood occurs. Man's ambitious aspirations, reflects the poet, are necessarily foiled by the brevity and transitoriness of mortal existence (1. 4. 15; 4. 7. 7-8).¹

Not only are the two poems remark-

ably similar in content. In addition the latter poem more than once echoes even the vocabulary of its predecessor: *grata vice veris et Favoni* (1. 4. 1), *mutat terra vices* (4. 7. 3); *iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes* (1. 4. 6), *Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus* (4. 7. 5); *vitae summa brevis* (1. 4. 15), *hodiernae crastina summae* (4. 7. 17). That 4. 7 is closely modeled on 1. 4 can hardly be disputed. Yet the Torquatus ode is not simply the Sestius ode reissued with minor alterations. Indeed, I should argue that the differences between the two are far more significant than the correspondences. In several respects 1. 4 seems to be the better poem—which is hardly surprising, granted the general inferiority of Book 4 to the previously published books of Horatian odes.²

First of all, if we place the Sestius and Torquatus odes side by side we cannot help but admire the greater inventiveness, the more brilliant poetic imagination displayed in the former.³ Compare, for example, the meager description of spring's advent in the opening verses of 4. 7—grasses and foliage are replenished (1-2); rivers shrink to their normal size (3-4); Nymphs and Graces dance in the nude (5-6)—with the wealth of detailed imagery to be found in the corresponding section of 1. 4 (i.e., lines 1-12). Whereas in 4. 7 Horace indicates the end of winter only by stating that "the snows have fled," in the earlier poem he speaks of the "dissolution" of "harsh winter" effected through a "welcome shift to spring and Favonius" (i.e., the West Wind). "Nor," he adds, "do the meadows any longer turn white with hoarfrost" (4). Similarly Nymphs and Graces do not merely dance: in moonlight under the guidance of Venus they "shake the earth in alternating rhythm" (5-7). As depicted in 1. 4 spring signals the renewal of multifarious outdoor activities, both secular (seafaring, plowing, pasturing) and religious (carrying out of sacrifices to the rural gods). For these particulars

and for the tour of the Cyclopean workshops undertaken by "blazing Vulcan"⁴ there is no counterpart whatsoever in 4. 7. Nor does the latter poem contain anything quite like the transformation of the commonplace thoughts that rich and poor are equally subject to death⁵ or that death is comparable to night⁶ into the bold and arresting verses which tell Sestius that "pale death pounds with impartial foot at the doors of poor men's hovels and regal palaces" (1. 4. 13-14) and that he himself will soon be "crushed" (or overwhelmed) by "night" and such feeble entities as "the storied ancestral shades" and "Pluto's meager mansion" (15-16).

But invidious comparisons of this kind are not entirely fair. Despite the numerous thematic and verbal echoes, 4. 7 diverges structurally from 1. 4. The earlier poem breaks down easily—in fact, far too easily—into two distinct sections. *Ver* is the key word in the first, *Mors* in the second. What connects the first twelve lines with the last eight is the view of spring as meet season not only for revival of temporarily abandoned employments and pastimes but also for savoring the twin delights of wine and love, neither of which is attainable after death. Horace's reminder to Sestius, "The brevity of life forbids us to inaugurate long-range hopes," (1. 4. 15) is similar to the warning against expectations of immortality issued to Torquatus (4. 7. 7), but is most closely paralleled in the famous closing lines of 1. 11, the Leuconoë ode:

... sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
spem longam reseces. dum loquimur,
fugerit invida
aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula
postero.

In 4. 7, however, the idea that one must "seize the occasion" is barely hinted. Nor, except in the mythological examples introduced at the end of the poem, does romantic love become a prominent motif. Yet even there the

sense is not that the delights of love are perishable, but that even the most powerful passion is incapable of overruling the decision of Minos, judge of the dead. Moreover the poem cannot be easily subdivided into two sections concerned respectively with spring and with death as central theme.⁷ What distinguishes 4.7 from its predecessor is the fact that there is only one real center of interest: the inability of man to attain immortality.⁸ Description of spring's advent is abbreviated because Horace's concern is not with spring itself but with the analogy between the succession of the seasons,⁹ each present only briefly in its turn, and the transitory nature of man's life.¹⁰ Whereas 1.4.1-12 present a throng of vividly sketched vernal scenes, the first twelve lines of 4.7 eschew pictorial variety in favor of a single-minded concentration on the concept involved in the verb *mutare*. The snows "are fled" (1); grass and foliage "return" (1-2); the earth "renews her alterations" (3). Similarly, Horace uses such verbal or participial forms as *decrescientia* (3), *rapit* (8), *mitescunt* (9), *recurrat* (12).¹¹ Especially significant is Horace's reference to summer, which "tramples spring" (9), as itself "destined to perish" (10).¹² The form *interitura* hints at man's ultimate destiny.

Human life, then, is shown to obey the same laws which govern all natural processes. But the rest of 4.7—note the pivotal *tamen* at line 13—elucidates the one salient difference between perishable man and the perishable seasons. The latter are regularly renewed, whereas an individual human being can neither return "from the dead" nor even predict his final day.¹³

The impact of the poem is summed up, then, in the words *immortalia ne speres* (7). Every line, every image chosen by the author in some way reinforces this theme. In 1.4, on the other hand, the wealth of imagery seems to have been introduced less for its relevance to a single central idea—note again the apparent cleavage between

lines 1-12 and 13-20—than for its intrinsic beauty. From this poem there is exuded a fragrance and an idyllic quality almost totally lacking in 4.7. Instead of a single-minded concentration on death there is a wide-ranging appreciation of youth and energy and beauty. Death, brought in almost as an afterthought, is pictured only as that which indiscriminately cuts short every man's enjoyments.¹⁴

Although those scholars who concern themselves with the interrelationship between form and content in Horace's odes would probably classify the structure of 4.7 as "linear,"¹⁵ I should argue that there is a kind of interlocking of motifs which cuts across boundaries between couplets or tetrastichs. Thus the poet alternates between the cycle of the seasons (1-6; 7-13) and the application to man's state, seen first as analogue (7), later as dissimilar in one important particular (14 ff.). But there is also a well managed balance between corroborative examples of man's mortality drawn from Roman history or quasi-history—Aeneas, Tullus, Ancus (15)—and those taken from familiar Greek myth—Hippolytus and Perithous (25-28).¹⁶ Most noteworthy of all, however, is the crescendoing progression¹⁷ from initial statement of the theme in generalized terms (7-8) to the emotional climax of lines 21-24, where death is viewed against the background of Minos' "splendid judgments," where Torquatus, addressee of the poem, is named for the first time, where anaphora too (used with less discrimination in 1.4) makes its first appearance and binds together an extremely effective tricolon:

non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non
te
restituēt pietas.

The concluding tetrastich (25-28) is deliberately anticlimactic, just as death itself is a quiet sequel to life's energetic striving.

Thus, although 1.4 exhibits a more fertile poetic imagination, although its

individual beauties surpass anything to be found in 4.7.¹⁸ I must nevertheless affirm the superiority of the latter poem. I cannot accept the argument which would make 4.7 either a prosaic reworking of 1.4 or an early alternative version suppressed when Books 1-3 were published and later resurrected to fill out the meager bulk of Book 4.¹⁹ What is far more likely in my opinion is that Horace intended the ode addressed to Torquatus at least partially as a replacement for the already published Sestius ode, a youthful production whose failings had become ever more apparent to the author of the *Ars Poetica*.²⁰ With the principles of unity,²¹ continuity,²² and economy²³ enunciated in that literary critical document, in the other *Epistles* and in the *Satires*, the composition of 4.7 is far more in harmony.²⁴ Just as the painter who represents his main figures in bold color and high detail, background and subordinate figures more dimly or sketchily, that there be no mistake as to which is the center of interest, so Horace in 4.7 deliberately abridges and dims the copious and brilliant vernal imagery of 1.4, states more emphatically the central idea, accords to his reminder of man's mortality a fuller, more cohesive demonstration. This cohesiveness results not only from overall concentration on a single theme, but also from an orderly sequence of thought and numerous verbal interconnections between sections of the poem.²⁵

If, then, comparison of 4.7 with 1.4 shows a loss of exuberance and verve and imagistic variety, such comparison will also show a positive gain in artistry and in concentrated power. The earlier ode dazzles and fascinates; the latter overwhelms. Possibly he was right who called 4.7 "the most perfect poem in the Latin language."²⁶

DONALD NORMAN LEVIN

Washington University

¹ Variations on this theme are frequent in Horatian lyric. See L. P. Wilkinson's discussion, sub-

titled "Life and Death," *Horace and His Lyric Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1951) pp. 34-43.

² But see A. Y. Campbell, *Horace* (London, 1924) p. 126. Conceding that Book 4 is "eked out" by an occasional bad poem (he has in mind particularly 4.10), Campbell nevertheless pays tribute to 4.7 and 13 as the "occasional fine poem or two" by which this final collection of odes "is redeemed."

³ That 1.4, however, "è intessuto quasi esclusivamente di motivi ellenistici" is the contention of G. Pasquali, *Orazio lirico* (Florence, 1920) p. 714; see also pp. 715-18. Among the motifs which might be regarded as "Hellenistic" Pasquali includes the nocturnal dancing of the Nymphs and Graces, Vulcan's visit to the workshops of the Cyclopes, description of death as deprivation of enjoyments, introduction of the male adolescent who excites the amorous interest of both sexes—an obvious parallel with the case of Acontius (cf. Callimachus, frags. 67-75 Pf., particularly 69 = 102 Schn., quoted by Pasquali, p. 718).

⁴ Note the simultaneity of Vulcan's visit to the Cyclopes and Venus' involvement with the dance. "The employments of Venus and Vulcan," observes E. C. Wickham (*The Works of Horace*, 3rd ed., vol. 1 [Oxford, 1898], introductory remarks on *Carm.* 1.4), "(the latter probably suggested by the former) are a mythological way of saying that pleasures and labors begin again with the Spring."

⁵ Cf. Pindar, *Nem.* 7. 19-20. For a longer and more elaborate exposition of Death's unconcern for distinctions of wealth or social rank see Horace, *Carm.* 2. 18. 29-40.

⁶ Cf. *Carm.* 1. 28. 15-16 and Catullus 5. 5-6.

⁷ Indeed P. Defourny has produced a detailed study of the former ("Le printemps dans l'ode à Sestius," *LEC* 14 [1946] 174-94) without once alluding to *Mors* or to that part of the poem which lies beyond line 12. His procedure is successful precisely because lines 1-12 can stand as a separate and self-contained poem. "Ils forment un ensemble homogène," observes Defourny concerning the numerous images which Horace has introduced into these lines, "ils sont la traduction d'un seul objet: le printemps d'avril."

⁸ Cf. *Carm.* 1. 28. Note particularly the parallelism between lines 4-11 of that poem and 4.7. 21-28. Despite the misgivings of those scholars who are disturbed by the apparent sudden shift at line 23 (at tu, nauta . . .), I should argue that 1.28, concerned always with the inevitability of death, is likewise an admirably unified production. For a similar view and brief, but effective explication see F. Heinemann, "Die Einheit der horazischen Ode," *MH* 9 (1952) 200. See also the more detailed analysis furnished by Wilkinson (above, note 1) pp. 109-14.

⁹ The cyclic movement of the seasons is described in some detail by Lucretius (5.737 ff.). Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 1. 299 ff.; 4. 134-38; Ovid, *Met.* 2. 25-30. Only Horace's description is concerned with human analogies. Note, however, Homer's comparison of humankind with deciduous foliage (*Il.* 6. 146 ff.) and the similar language of Minnermus, frag. 2, and Aristophanes, *Aves* 685 ff.

¹⁰ Wilkinson (above, note 1) rightly rejects Wilamowitz' categorization of 4.7, along with 4.12, as an "unimportant spring-song" (*Sappho*

und Simonides [Berlin, 1913] p. 321). "Spring is, however, introduced," replies Wilkinson (p. 40), "solely as a foil to the main theme, human mortality."

¹¹ Kiessling and Heinze (*Horaz*, vol. 1, 8th ed.: *Oden und Epoden* [Berlin, 1955] to whom I am indebted for this observation, list not only *diffugere*, *redeunt*, *mutat vices* (cf. E. Fraenkel, *Horace* [Oxford, 1957] p. 420: "their [the four seasons'] constant change, a thought delicately forecast in line 3"), and *decrescencia*, but also *audet* (5). But this seems somewhat strained. To be sure, *audet/ducere nuda choros* indicates a new situation. Yet is not the idea of change implicit in most verbs in any case?

¹² In addition to Lucretian and other descriptions of the four-part annual cycle of the seasons (see above, note 9) Horace may have had in mind the ancient tetrad of prime substances and Heraclitus' observation "that water is the death of earth, air of water, fire of air, and the converse" (frag. 76 Diels, 7th ed.).

¹³ Cf. Catullus 5. 4-6. Fraenkel (above, note 11) p. 420, note 2, does not doubt that Horace attempted "a deliberate variation" of these lines or that Horace's *cum semel occideris* (4. 7. 21) "is an echo of Catullus' *cum semel occidit*."

¹⁴ For a defense of Horace's procedure in this poem see H. C. Toll, "Unity in the *Odes* of Horace," *Phoenix* 9 (1955) 156: "In *Odes* 1. 4, the bright picture of rejoicing at the return of spring is darkened without warning to one of death and gloom, against which, in turn, the garish frivolities of this life present a startling contrast. What is the effect? *Pallida Mors* is the focus of the whole poem. Horace has painted a gloomy warning, standing darkly within the bright frame of the two contrasting scenes." Replying to Walter Savage Landor's complaint that "pallida mors has nothing to do with the above" (i.e., the description of spring in the first twelve lines) Campbell (above, note 2) p. 78, argues that this abrupt change "is the focus of the whole poem." But this argument is based on a rather unorthodox interpretation of *Ars Poetica* 242, *series iuncturae pollet*. "What Horace means," explains Campbell, "is that a telling, a forcible juxtaposition will establish its own connection."

¹⁵ But the scholars in question prefer to devote their attention to defence or castigation of Horace's procedure in 1. 4. N. E. Collinge, for example, in his "Form and Content in the Horatian Lyric," *CP* 50 (1955) 161-68, admits that 1. 4 "has possibly the clearest dichotomy of any ode" (p. 164), but goes on to show (pp. 165-66) that the poem consists of two structures, circular (1-12) and linear (13-20), which diagram he takes to be the meaning of the poem. In other words, whereas 4. 7 "states" that the seasonal round is unbroken while man's life terminates once for all, 1. 4 says the same implicitly by means of the circle and line which form the structure of the poem. The theory is attractive and ingenious, but too subtle, I suspect, even for that most subtle poet, Horace.

¹⁶ Fraenkel too (above, note 11) p. 266, is likewise impressed by this "nice balance."

¹⁷ On crescendo and diminuendo as pattern for

thought-progression in Horatian odes see H. L. Tracy, *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood*, *Phoenix*, Supp. Vol. I (Toronto, 1952) 210 ff. Although he refers to 1. 4 as an example of the *diminuendo*-type, Tracy says nothing at all about 4. 7.

¹⁸ Especially applicable to 1. 4 is Tracy's (above, note 17) praise of Horace for the "concreteness" of his imagery (p. 212).

¹⁹ Maclean's theory, reported in the introduction to Wickham's commentary on 4. 7. For a more sensible view of the composition of Book 4 see Campbell's *Horace* (above, note 2).

²⁰ I can not agree, however, with Pasquali's claim (above, note 3) p. 721, that the handling of imagery in 1. 4 is often frigid, artificial, or otiose. Indeed, those features which Pasquali dismisses as "preziosi" are rather the mark of Horace's unhackneyed genius.

²¹ *Ars Poet.* 23.

²² See *Ars Poet.* 42-48 for Horace's recommendations with regard to organization of subject matter and language—respectively *ordo* and *series* or *iunctura*. See also 242 (cited above, note 14).

²³ See particularly *Serm.* 1. 10. 9-10.

²⁴ For a valuable recent discussion of the relationship between Horace's artistic theories and his actual practice in lyric composition see Toll, *Phoenix* 9 (1955) 153-69. See also Heinemann, *MH* 9 (1952) 193-203.

²⁵ But 1. 4 is not devoid of such interconnections. *Solvitur*, the opening word of the poem, is echoed, as Kiessling and Heinze remind us (cf. Defourny [above, note 7] p. 175, and Collinge [above, note 15] p. 186), in the expression *terrae . . . solutae* (10). Similarly, though without direct verbal correspondence, the erotic interest of the closing couplet was already foreshadowed by the introduction of Venus (5)—who is not even mentioned in 4. 7—as companion of the Nymphs and Graces and leader of the dancing in the moonlight. On the role of Venus as patron-goddess of springtime and her especial connection with the month of April see Defourny, pp. 187 ff. W. Wili, *Horaz und die augusteische Kultur* (Basel, 1948) p. 231, note 1, sees emphasis on the special connection between these two kinds of interest in Horace's choice of *tepebunt* as the last word of the poem, *solvitur* as the first. The choice must have been deliberate. Had Horace wished to be obvious—fortunately he did not—he might have constructed within a single couplet a simile between the thawing out of rigid fields and pastures and the thawing out of hitherto unimpressible maidens.

²⁶ A. E. Housman, cited with approval by Wilkinson (above, note 1) p. 40. Note that Housman has also produced an excellent translation of the poem (quoted by Wilkinson, pp. 41-42). "It seems to me quite one of the supremely beautiful among the *Odes*," remarks Campbell (above, note 2) p. 224. Partly this is a reply to Wilamowitz' assertion that the poem is unimportant (see above, note 10). But Campbell is also thinking in terms of a comparison with 1. 4, than which, despite his appreciation of its effectiveness (see above, note 14), he finds 4. 7 "more poetically written and more harmoniously conceived."

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

vol 54 | 1958-1959

INDEX

compiled by WILLIAM D. FAIRCHILD, JR., University of Alabama

ARTICLES

- Amplification and High Fidelity in the Greek Theater (MONTGOMERY) 242
 Ancient City State: Some Reasons for Its Durability (SNYDER) 363
 Augustine and the Transvaluation of the Classical Tradition (OUTLER) 213
 Aulus Gellius: On Historical and Descriptive Linguistics (SPRINGER) 121
 Byzantine Platonism in Yeats (NOTOPOULOS) 315
 Calypso and Elysium (ANDERSON) 2
 Christianity and the Invasions: Two Sketches (COSTER) 146
 Church, State and Classics: The Cotton-Williams Debate (GUMMER) 175
 Cicero and the Senate (SMETHURST) 73
 Foundation Legends in Vergil (BRINKMAN) 25
 Greek Prototypes of American Myths (AGARD) 338
 Horace, Ode 3. 29 (HORNSBY) 129
 Julian and the Men of Letters (NULLE) 257
 Latin and English Verse: Some Practical Considerations (HUMPHRIES) 63
 Mythology in Mycenaean Art (EMILY VERMEULE) 97
 Ovid's Pythagorean Essay (SWANSON) 21
 Ovid's Theme of Change (SWANSON) 201
 Pleasures of Pedagogy (MACKENDRICK) 194
 Roman Citizenship per magistratum (BRADEEN) 221
 Socrates and Aspasia: New Portraits of Late Antiquity (VERMEULE) 49
 Some Appearances of the Golden Age (RECKFORD) 79
 Sophocles' Ajax: Aristos . . . after Achilles (LAWALL) 290
 Sophocles' Antigone: Eros in Politics (HATHORN) 109
 Virgil, Dante and Camilla (SMALL) 295
 Was Cleisthenes an Athenian Archon? (ALEXANDER) 307

BOOK REVIEWS

- Adams, *Sophocles the Playwright* (WASSERMANN) 184
 Allen, *The Story of Archaeology* (RAMAGE) 88
 Arndt and Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (FUERST) 334
 Barnard, *Sappho, A New Translation* (SWANSON) 281
 Bennett, *The Mycenae Tablets II* (HOUSEHOLDER) 379
 —, *The Olive Oil Tablets of Pylos, Text of the Inscriptions Found, 1955* (HOUSEHOLDER) 379
 Blegen and Lang, *The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1957* (HOUSEHOLDER) 379
 Büchner, *Humanitas Romana, Studien über Werke und Wesen der Römer* (WASSERMANN) 324
 Chadwick, *The Decipherment of Linear B* (HOUSEHOLDER) 379
 Conway, *St. Cyprian, De Bono Patientiae* (MC-CRACKEN) 235
 Delcourt, *Héphaïstos, ou La légende du magicien* (LEVIN) 332
 Denniston and Page, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon* (LEVIN) 188
 Fraenkel, *Horace* (JANICE BENARD) 42
 Friedländer, *Plato, Vol. I: An Introduction* (MINAR) 324
 Grant, *Roman History from Coins: Some Uses of the Imperial Coinage to the Historian* (VERMEULE) 40
 —, *Roman Readings* (CROSSETT) 238
 Grene and Lattimore, *Euripides, Vol. III: The Complete Greek Tragedies* (CROSSETT) 282
 Guthrie, *In the Beginning: Some Greek Views on the Origins of Life and the Early State of Man* (SPRAGUE) 189
 Jones, *Athenian Democracy* (HOUGH) 279
 Kaplan, *The Pocket Aristotle* (DE LACY) 329
 Keep, *A Homeric Dictionary for Schools and*

- Colleges Based upon the German of Georg Autenrieth, Revised Edition by Flagg (REXINE) 184
- Kirk and Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers: A Critical History with a Selection of Texts* (MINAR) 275
- Kleberg, *Hôtels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans l'Antiquité Romaine* (McDONALD) 185
- Labarbe, *La Loi navale de Thémistocle* (STARR) 377
- Laistner, *A History of the Greek World from 479 to 323 B.C.* (HERBERT) 88
- Landau, *Mykenisch-Griechische Personennamen* (HOUSEHOLDER) 379
- Leff, *Medieval Thought* (MACCLINTOCK) 237
- Lesousky, *St. Augustine, De Dono Perseverantiae* (McCRACKEN) 235
- Limebeer and Minchin, *Caesar in Gaul and Britain: A Consecutive Narrative in Latin and English* (RAMAGE) 95
- Lind, *Ecclesiastical by Alexander of Villa Dei* (SWANSON) 377
- Michell, *The Economics of Ancient Greece* (CASSON) 378
- Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin. Its Origins and Character* (ZIMMERMANN) 92
- Moon, *St. Augustine, De Natura Boni* (McCRACKEN) 234
- Müller, *St. Augustine, De Haeresibus* (McCRACKEN) 234
- Murray, *The Motif of Io in Aeschylus' Suppliants* (FOWLER) 137
- Musurillo, *Methodius of Olympus, The Symposium: A Treatise on Chastity* (WELTIN) 329
- O'Reilly, *St. Augustine, De Excidio Urbis Romae Sermo* (McCRACKEN) 234
- Pocock, *The Sicilian Origin of the Odyssey: A Study of the Topographical Evidence* (ABRAHAMSON) 137
- Porter, *Scipio Africanus* (DEWITT) 37
- Quacquarelli, Q. S. F. *Tertulliani Ad Scapulam: Prolegomeni, Testo Critico e Commento* (CAPLAN) 273
- Rabinowitz, *Aristotle's Protrepticus and the Sources of Its Reconstruction, Pt. I* (BRUMBAUGH) 271
- Rexine, *Solon and His Political Theory: The Contemporary Significance of a Basic Contribution to Political Theory by One of the Seven Wise Men* (MINAR) 331
- Richards, *Essentials of Latin: An Introductory Course Using Selections from Latin Literature* (REXINE) 45
- Robinson, *Selections from Greek and Roman Historians* (HERBERT) 37
- Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, 2 vols., Second (English) Edition* (BOREN) 326
- Roux, *Greece* (SCHODER) 278
- Salmon, *A History of the Roman World from 30 B.C. to A.D. 138* (HERBERT) 88
- Soltero, *El 'Apéndice Virgiliano'* (RAMIREZ) 140
- Strömberg, *Greek Proverbs: A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases which are not listed by the Ancient and Byzantine Paroemiographers* (PERRY) 38
- Sutherland, *Ancient Numismatics: A Brief Introduction* (VERMEULE) 272
- Trenkner, *The Greek Novella in the Classical Period* (ALEXANDER) 270
- Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius, Vol. I* (JONES) 331
- Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (RAMAGE) 284
- , *Greek Theatre Production* (BOEGEHOOLD)

- Wentker, *Sizilien und Athen: Die Begegnung der attischen Macht mit den Westgriechen* (WASSERMANN) 284
- Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (ARMSTRONG) 232
- Wyherley, *The Athenian Agora, Vol. III: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (BRADEEN) 94
- Zakharenko, *Pidruchnik Latins'koyi Movi* (GRAHAM) 90

BRIEF NOTICES, 46

COMMEMORATIONS

- Richard Clarke Manning (FINK) 142
- Peter G. Marks (KOVACH) 143
- Hubert McNeill Poteat (PATTON) 143
- David M. Robinson (WILLIS) 143
- Jesse Lee Rose (ROGERS) 144

FEATURE

- Carmen Feriale (JOHNSON) 17

THE FORUM, 12, 56, 116, 160, 206, 246, 302, 344

- Academy Skit (O'CONNOR and VINCE) 209
- ACL Honor Citations (JOHNSON) 303
- ACL Classics Panel (PRATT) 346
- Advanced Placement Program, 206
- Another Revised New Testament (COREY) 118
- Classics and Satellites (COLLINS and SITTARD) 116
- Classics and the English Ph.D. (SCHODER) 166
- Classics and the National Defense Education Act (HELLER) 303
- Classics as Paideia (CHANCELLOR) 60
- Classics in England (BUCKNEY) 160
- Comprehension Approach (KLAMMER) 344
- Coordination within the Latin Curriculum (CUNNINGHAM) 248
- Education Abroad: Belgium (O'NEIL) 56; Norway (NARVESON) 57; Greece (SPENCER) 57; Poland (NATUNEWICZ) 57; U.S.S.R. (GRAHAM) 59
- Elementary School Latin Club (JOHNSON) 16
- Eta Sigma Phi Medals, 345
- From the CBE Bulletin, 118
- Good Old Summertime (REINHOLD) 61
- Junior Classical League (GOULD) 14
- Juvenile Merit (THOMAS) 12
- Latin Enriches the Third Grade (WALLER) 15
- Latin in Louisiana (CORCORAN) 208
- Latin Pedagogy in Italy, 345
- Latin Readers Used in English Schools, 163
- Latin Week, 207
- Latin Week Awards, 207
- Legislation Favors Foreign Languages (BROWN) 120
- Mechanics of Honors, 207
- Menaechmi Available (GILLINGHAM) 206
- Michigan Classicists Organize, 160
- More English Textbooks, 247
- New Emphasis in Latin (WHITE) 164
- New Latin Guide, Minnesota, 302

- Ohio Classical Conference Book Exhibit (RUTLEDGE) 302
 Our Junior Classicists. 207
 Presidential Statement (NYBAKKEN) 12
 Recent Research on Ajax (MONTGOMERY) 246
 Resolution by the Northeast Conference (THOMPSON, MACALLISTER, LEVY) 306
 Resolution to Congress (STROW) 15
 Roman Achievement. 248
 Scholar of the College. 247
 Scientific Latin (GOLDSBERRY) 14
 Secondary Greek Program (HORN) 13
 Spanish through Latin. 12
 Third New England Latin Workshop. 61
 Too Much Caesar or Too Little (GREER) 62
 Vita Latina. 209
 Welcome to North Carolina Classical Association. 14
 With Our Colleagues Abroad. 252

FROM OTHER JOURNALS. 372

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Aspasia, bone carving. 53
 Diptych of Stilicho, his wife Serena, and son Eucherius (SCHUMAN) 145
 Figurine from Stathatos Collection, Athens, N.M., woman riding a quadriped. 106
 Fragment of krater from Enkomi, warrior and attendant. 104
 Fresco from palace at Pylos, lyre-player and bird. 101
 Gem from Mycenae, woman riding mythical beast. 107
 Ivory group from Mycenae, two women and boy. 100
 Krater from Enkomi, "Zeus with the Scales of Fate." 103
 Krater from Klavdia, Cyprus, huntsman and hounds. 102
 Krater in Boston, M.F.A., men yoked together. 103
 Mosaic from Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. The Holy Martyrs. 317
 Ostia, Thermopolium (NASH) 337
 Paestum, view of Basilica (NASH) 289
 Pinax from Mycenae, Shield Goddess and votaries. 98
 Ring from Athenian Agora, daimon leading two females. 99
 Ring from Tiryns, goddess receiving the worship of mythical beasts. 97
 Seal from Pylos, warrior fighting lioness. 101
 Silenus, marble bust. 50
 Socrates: bone carving. 51 and 52; bronze head. 49; marble statuette. 50
 Socrates and Aspasia, bronze relief from Pompeii. 54
 Temple as seen from the Town Gate, Segesta (NASH) 241
 Temple of Concordia, Agrigento (NASH) 1
 Temple of Vesta, Forum Romanum (NASH) 193
 Woman from Attic grave monument. 53

NOTES

- Concerning Two Odes of Horace: 1. 4 and 4. 7 (LEVIN) 354

- Doctor's Dictionary (SMITH) 352
 Horace, *Carm.* 2. 10: Stylistic Observations (LEVIN) 169
 On Housman Lucretiana (FLETCHER) 171
 Onomatopoeia of Aeneid 3. 699-715 (AVERY) 350
 Roman Ghost-Writers (AVERY) 167

POEMS

- Bitter Mead (PORTER) 11
 Catullus 13: Dutch Treat (DENNY) 87
 Cypress at Fiesole (CURTIS) 69
 Forsaken Dido (PORTER) 136
 Horace, Odes 1. 11 (SCHMIDT) 20
 Horace, Odes 1. 22 (SCHMIDT) 24

- WE SEE BY THE PAPERS. 34, 70, 172, 229, 267, 322, 375

ANNOUNCEMENTS

- ACL pamphlet: *Latin: The Basic Language*. 336
 ACL Scholarships for Secondary-School Latin Teachers. 47
 American Numismatic Society. 192
 California JCL meeting. 240
 CAMWS, program of annual meeting. 253; officers for 1958-59. 256; financial statement. 1957-58. 287; officers and program of meeting of Southern Section. 72
 CANE, annual meeting and program. 287
 Committee on Merit. 239
 Editorial Board. 384
 Eta Sigma Phi Scholarship to Athens. 191
 Fourth New England Latin Workshop. 336
 F. S. U. graduate fellowships. 191
 Indiana Classical Conference. 336
 Indiana University Latin Workshop. 288
 Ohio State University summer program. 336
 Rockford College Latin Scholarship. 240
 Rome Prize Fellowships. 96, 384
 Semple Scholarship Grant for Rome. 46, 384
 Sibley Fellowship. 96
 Tufts University Theatre. 288
 University of Alberta Summer School of Linguistics. 240, 288; see 61
 University of Pennsylvania Summer School. 384
 Vergilian Society reprint. 192; scholarship. 384, 384
 Versto. 384

AUTHORS

- (A: Article; R: Book Review; C: Commemoration; F: The Forum; I: Illustration; N: Note; P: Poem)
 ABRAHAMSON, Ernst L. (R) 137
 AGARD, Walter R. (A) 338
 ALEXANDER, James W. (A) 307; (R) 270
 ANDERSON, William S. (A) 2
 ARMSTRONG, James I. (R) 232
 AVERY, William T. (N) 167, 350
 BENARIO, Janice M. (R) 42

- BOEGEHOLD, A. L. (R) 93
 BOREN, Henry C. (R) 326
 BRADEEN, Donald W. (A) 221; (R) 94
 BRINKMAN, John A., s.j. (A) 25
 BROWN, M. Gordon (F) 120
 BRUMBAUGH, Robert S. (R) 271
 BUCKNEY, T. A. (F) 160
- CAPLAN, Harry (R) 273
 CASSON, Lionel (R) 378
 CHANCELLOR, Paul (F) 60
 COLLINS, Patrick S., f.s.c.h. (F) 116
 CORCORAN, Thomas H. (F) 208
 COREY, Mrs. C. Stanley (F) 118
 COSTER, Charles Henry (A) 146
 CROSSETT, John (R) 239, 282
 CUNNINGHAM, Maurice P. (F) 248
 CURTIS, Christine Turner (P) 69
- DE LACY, Phillip (R) 329
 DENNY, Thomas F., s.j. (P) 87
 DERTHICK, L. G. (Letter to Getty) 305
 DEWITT, Norman J. (R) 37
- FINK, Robert O. (C) 142
 FLETCHER, G. B. A. (N) 171
 FOWLER, Barbara Hughes (R) 137
 FUERST, Bartholomew, o.s.b. (R) 334
- GETTY, Robert J. (Letter to Derthick) 304
 GILLINGHAM, Allan G. (F) 208
 GOLDSBERRY, Anna (F) 14
 GOULD, Belle (F) 14
 GRAHAM, Hugh F. (R) 90; (F) 59
 GREER, Susan (F) 62
 GUMMERE, Richard M. (A) 175
- HATHORN, Richmond Y. (A) 109
 HELLER, John L. (F) 303
 HERBERT, Kevin (R) 37, 88
 HORNBER, Timothy, o.s.b. (F) 13
 HORNSBY, Roger A. (A) 129
 HOUGH, John N. (R) 279; (Treasurer's Report) 287
 HOUSEHOLDER, Fred W., Jr. (R) 379
 HUMPHRIES, Rolfe (A) 63
- JOHNSON, Eileen (F) 16
 JOHNSON, Van L. (*Carmen Feriale*) 17; (F) 303
 JONES, Tom B. (R) 331
- KLAMMER, Theodore P. (F) 344
 KOVACH, Edith M. A. (C) 143
- LAWALL, Sally Nesbit (A) 290
 LEVIN, Donald Norman (N) 169, 354
 LEVIN, Saul (R) 188, 332
 LEVY, Harry L. (F) 306
- MACALLISTER, A. T. (F) 306
 MACCLINTOCK, Stuart (R) 237
- MACKENDRICK, Paul (A) 194
 MARTIN, Donniss (F) 207
 MCCracken, George E. (R) 234
 McDONALD, William A. (R) 185
 MINAR, Edwin L., Jr. (R) 275, 324, 331
 MONTGOMERY, Henry C. (A) 242; (F) 246
- NARVESON, B. H. (F) 57
 NASH, Ernest (I) 1, 193, 241, 289, 337
 NATUNEWICZ, Chester F. (F) 57
 NOTOPOULOS, James A. (A) 315
 NULLE, Stebelton H. (A) 257
 NYRAKKEN, Oscar E. (F) 12
- O'CONNOR, Mary (F) 209
 O'NEIL, E. Wesley (F) 56
 OUTLER, Albert C. (A) 213
- PATTON, Lillian (C) 143
 PERRY, B. E. (R) 38
 PORTER, Jenny Lind (P) 11, 136
 PRATT, Norman T., Jr. (F) 346
- RAMAGE, Edwin S. (R) 88, 95, 284
 RAMIREZ, Alejandro (R) 140
 RECKFORD, Kenneth J. (A) 79
 REINHOLD, Ernest (F) 61
 REKINE, John E. (R) 45, 184
 ROGERS, Robert S. (C) 144
 RUTLEDGE, Harry C. (F) 302
- SCHMIDT, Dorothea M. (P) 20, 24
 SCHODER, Raymond V., s.j. (R) 278; (F) 166
 SCHUMAN, Verne B. (I) 145
 SITTARD, Herin (F) 117
 SMALL, Stuart G. P. (A) 295
 SMETHURST, S. E. (A) 73
 SMITH, Leslie F. (N) 352
 SNYDER, John W. (A) 363
 SPENCER, Robert (F) 57
 SPRAGUE, Rosamond Kent (R) 189
 SPRINGER, Lawrence A. (A) 121
 STARR, Chester G. (R) 377
 STOW, Lloyd (F) 15
 SWANSON, Roy Arthur (A) 21, 201; (R) 281, 377
- THOMAS, Cynthia (F) 12
 THOMPSON, Mary (F) 306
 TRUMAN, Harry (Letter to Johnson) 303
- VERMEULE, Cornelius C., III (A) 49; (R) 40, 272
 VERMEULE, Emily Townsend (A) 97
 VINCE, Dorothy (F) 209
- WALLER, Eva B. (F) 15
 WASSERMANN, Felix M. (R) 184, 284, 324
 WELTIN, E. G. (R) 329
 WHITE, Dorrance S. (F) 164
 WILLIS, William H. (C) 143
- ZIMMERMANN, Odo J., o.s.b. (R) 92

THE ANCIENT CITY STATE: SOME REASONS FOR ITS DURABILITY

JOHN W. SNYDER

WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME there is an increasing tendency in the modern world, particularly in the United States, to regard large cities as one of the problems rather than one of the benefits inherent in society. With this view the idea current in antiquity, that the city was the greatest of man's political creations, finds little compatibility. Still, ancient man did indeed often regard his cities as the closest possible approximations to the ideal state. An instance of this is Plato's use of the city to form the basis for his discussions of justice.¹ This refrain early Christianity also picks up in places like the *Apocalypse* where the final answer, indeed God's answer to man's need for political institutions, appears in the New Jerusalem coming down out of heaven, "adorned as a bride for her husband."² The reason for this may in large measure have been an inability in ancient civilized man to conceive of the purposeful association of large numbers of men for any common goal without assuming the close geographical proximity to be found in cities, but it was also due in part to an aesthetic

appreciation of the city as a work of art; the art of man, Aristotle's "political animal." In time—long before the close of antiquity—there were reasons even for aesthetic dissatisfaction with this ideal, such as those finding expression in the bucolic literature of the Roman period, and in the attraction of such places as the gardens at the Temple of Asclepius³ in a Corinth grown to such a size as to have imprisoned many of its inhabitants. These problems, however, were fairly late, and for the most part ancient literature is free from any criticism of the general idea of the city state.

Standing somewhat aside from this ancient idealism, the now monumental modern literature touching upon the ancient city state in its various forms has had frequent occasion to allude to the so-called "failure" of the polis.⁴ These modern critics point out that in Greece during the Peloponnesian War and the years after it, party strife broke out in civil war. In this they are taking their cue from Thucydides, who describes these troubles as proceeding rapidly through the cities of Greece, which were staggering under party ties often stronger even than ties of loyalty to the family.⁵ And this was followed by a pathetic inability of the cities

Presented at the 1958 meeting of the American Historical Association

to form any kind of unity with which they might successfully have withstood the encroaching might of the Macedonians. Consequently, the Greek cities already weakened by faction were forced to surrender most of their autonomy to Philip, Alexander, the followers of Alexander and finally to the Romans. The city as a self-reliant political institution, able freely to determine its own foreign policies, had passed from the scene.

Still, certain qualifications are necessary in order to maintain this last statement. The cities themselves remained for the most part. Further, if one may turn from an insistence upon complete autonomy, which is difficult to maintain for many periods in any case, it may be pointed out that the institution had already persevered from its earliest beginnings in Mesopotamian history, and was to continue through the time of the Roman Empire. And once the lesson had been learned from the Greeks of the fifth century, the theory at least of democracy was maintained among the cities of subsequent antiquity. It may even be argued that autonomy was in a measure present among cities for which foreign policy still existed, even though it was confined to dealing with a Hellenistic king or the Romans.

For the purposes of this discussion, therefore, a partial definition of the ancient city state is required. Beyond the obvious geographical description of the city as a settlement of a fairly large number of human beings around one or more points of common interest such as a militarily defensible position, a harbor, a river, or a combination of these, one of the first items to be mentioned in this definition is the problem of self-determination. While complete freedom in this regard may be urged only for the most successful of the cities in certain periods in Near Eastern as well as classical history, it is also true that whether one speaks of Sumerian cities squabbling over borders and water rights,⁶ or an Assyrian king having

to devastate again and again a restive border city, or Hellenistic Priene receiving a letter from Lysimachus addressed to "the Council and the People of Priene,"⁷ the cities were functioning as political units which had tried with varying degrees of success to do some bargaining on their own. Within the limits imposed by superior military authority on even the most restricted of these cities, the city itself was for the most part conducting its own internal affairs to a greater degree than is found in most modern cities. The intervention in these internal affairs upon which particularly the Attalids⁸ and later the Romans felt themselves forced to embark was in many ways new to antiquity, at least on the scale employed by the Romans. A return to this point and its significance with regard to the decline of the city state will be made below.

The ancient city state was therefore a corporate unit administering a local territory primarily for its own benefit, and dealing collectively with its problems. This is quite clear when the city was entirely autonomous, but it also appears when the city was negotiating with kings in order to reduce as far as possible the tribute payable to the royal exchequer and to raise as far as possible the immunities and privileges arising from the association.⁹ When these relations broke down, intervention by force became necessary, but since it was to the advantage of both parties to keep this from happening, many such negotiations may be assumed to have been completed with some success.

IF THESE QUALIFICATIONS concerning the nature of the successful city state may be allowed, even the most cursory examination of the institution in its many manifestations in antiquity reveals certain common interests and arrangements, which may be proposed as some of the reasons for the durability of the city state.

The first of these reasons might be found in the matter lately receiving some attention among those sociologists who choose to work in the field of ancient history: the problem of protection. In this regard, even the earliest settlements of which we have any information both in the Near East and in the Mediterranean area clearly afforded to their inhabitants some safety by association. The very earliest communities in the Near East show little evidence that this safety was a matter of protection from man, but rather from the forces of nature.¹⁰ Thereafter it is likely to have come as an obvious development that what had worked for non-human environment also promised some success against the depredations of man. This last problem seems to dominate in the earliest Greek communities, which almost invariably were formed around some easily defended point, usually a sharply rising hill upon which could be constructed a fortified palace, and to which the populace could flee when under attack.

Not quite so obvious, but still valid in the later period when fairly large cities began to develop, was the problem of the personal safety of the individual inhabitants. Since brigandage was almost chronic in antiquity, the absence of effective police power meant that the safety of any given person was likely to have been one of his weightiest reasons for becoming a city-dweller.¹¹ In fact some facets of the individual's need for protection came into play even within the community, since political articulation, the protection of one's goods, the right to secure justice, and access to wealth were all dependent upon membership in or attachment to the city state, and were usually administered or made available by even more narrow ethnic and social groups in the form of clans, phratries and tribes.

It is little wonder, then, that there grew up within the cities strong loyalties which became even more fierce

when the city was under attack. Under such attacks, which among the Greeks were rather more frequent than devastating, these loyalties came to provide one of the reasons for the development of the jealous interest in the affairs of one's own city to the exclusion of all others, an aspect of the phenomenon generally known as Greek particularism. With the passage of time this proved to be a strong force in the perpetuation of the city as an institution. It was however also revealed in time to be a hindrance to Greek political integrity in that it kept the Greeks from arriving at a sufficiently strong combination of states to withstand invasion by the Macedonians and those who followed them.

It is obvious that economic convenience was another common denominator responsible for some of the similarities found in ancient city states and for the perseverance of the form. It is of course impossible to separate economic convenience in its broadest sense from the problems of protection. The accumulation of a labor force in the early settlements provided means for dealing with environment, be it for protection or control, that were impossible for any individual. Fortifications were constructed in early Greece; temples were built, fields drained, canals dug, common defenses erected in the Near East. Once these initial stages had been passed, the towns provided a way in which to conduct trade by taking advantage of the concentrated markets and means of production they afforded, and after the earliest period the cities and the trade patterns grew together, each contributing to the other. So it is that the earliest urban civilizations of the Near East already had strongly developed specializations of labor and trade. An example may be found in the old Sumerian city of Ur, which at its very beginning shows specialization in the production of items for trade such as jewelry and metal-work.¹²

A third reason for the durability of the ancient city state is to be found in

the idealism mentioned above, which surrounded the institution particularly after the most famous instance of a successful polis, fifth-century Athens. The idea of a free people meeting together in common assembly to consider without interference the proposals set before them for their combined action has not failed to strike a responsive chord in the hearts of men in almost every period of history. Its aura was retained through the remainder of antiquity despite the arguments raised by Aristotle and others to point out that the actual city often fell short of this democratic ideal.¹³ But the ideal itself of a free and autonomous if not always democratic city so much filled the thinking of political theorists in ancient times, that it may partially be responsible for the alleged failure of the polis. The truth is that no such city at once free and democratic existed in actuality for very long if at all. Idealism, however, worked in another way to perpetuate the polis for a time at least. This is to be found in the tendency on the part of the literary figures of the fifth century to pay considerable attention to one of the ideals of Athenian society: that the individual should subject himself to the will of the group and make no attempt to raise himself above his peers by the outworking of an "over-weening pride." *Me'dèn ágan*, "nothing to excess," became the watchword of a society alert to the threat of tyranny and to which too much success on the part of one man seemed a dangerous challenge.

The last of the reasons for the durability of the city state to be suggested here can be found in the role of the upper classes. Because it is not always possible to show in which of the factors of wealth, military excellence, priestly functions, or definitions of birth and superior personal qualities the actual power of the upper classes lay, and because at times it seems clearly to have been a combination of more than one of these, the frequently encountered terms "aristocracy" and "timocracy" seem unworkable for the discussion to follow,

despite the fact that wealth in real property was almost always involved. Instead the term "upper classes" has been employed in reference to all those, usually a numerical minority, who had a vested interest in the control of wealth, and in whose concern for the stability of governmental organization can be found a major source of direction and perpetuation of the city state.

To turn first to the ancient Near East, it has long been noticed that some of the early Sumerian cities were separate city states, occasionally subjected to the control of a suzerain, but frequently showing the same sort of particularist tendencies so familiar to the student of classical antiquity. As soon as the beginnings of the story can be traced among the ruins of the earliest settlements, there is some indication of the possibility that the first impetus toward the organization of the laboring forces of the villages sufficiently to begin construction of monumental architecture was provided by their religious interests. Part of the evidence consists of the symbols for local deities found on some of the pottery taken from among the ruins of these buildings. Consequently it has been argued that the buildings were temples.¹⁴ It may also be that the first group able to direct such activities was a priestly aristocracy.¹⁵

From considerably later, after the development of the cuneiform writing system, there comes a text describing an event from what might be called the very beginning of Sumerian history proper.¹⁶ The event was the threatened invasion of the city of Erech by the forces of Agga, king of Kish. When the envoys from Agga appeared before Gilgamesh, king of Erech, to demand his submission, Gilgamesh took the problem to the elders of the city, who immediately spoke out along the lines one might expect from those with property to protect, and advised the king to submit as demanded, rather than risk the destruction of the city for the sake of its political integrity. That they did not

speak for the whole city is shown when Gilgamesh then referred the question to the commoners of the city and received the advice to resist.¹⁷ The whole episode carries a familiar ring to those acquainted with the divided counsels at Rome at the time of the beginning of the First Punic War.

By the time of the Babylonian dynasty of Hammurabi, the existence of private property interests is well established, and the upper classes are more sharply defined, both in the *Code of Hammurabi* and in the multitude of economic documents from the period. Further, while Hammurabi like others before him did acquire an empire, his kingdom obviously was made up of cities, many of which had definite views of their own, as indicated by such things as the frequent reference to military action against them in his year-dates¹⁸ and by the correspondence between the Babylonians and Zimrilim, king of Mari.¹⁹ What little can be determined concerning the economics of the period shows that the wealth of these cities depended upon the activities of the business people in them and these commercial interests very often can be seen underlying their relations with other states. Limitations of space will not permit further observations along this line, but the records of the merchant settlement on the outskirts of the Cappadocian city of Kanesh,²⁰ the royal correspondence and the few economic documents from the Assyrian Empire,²¹ those from Ras Shamra or ancient Ugarit,²² and most spectacularly those from the Neo-Babylonian period of Nebuchadnezzar²³ might also be mentioned as showing many of the same kinds of commercial interests.

The role of the upper classes in the establishment of the Greek cities in the Archaic period has long been known. Before that time the Bronze Age offers some special problems along this line, but the information being extracted from the Linear B texts shows with increasing force that the earliest of the Greek kings were very much depend-

ent upon an upper class that might even have supplied a form of bureaucracy.²⁴ In any case, both this and the evidence from Homer show that a definite line may be drawn between the governing and the lower classes of these palace-oriented societies.²⁵

After the decline of Bronze Age Greece and the so-called "Dark Ages," the Archaic period witnessed the gradual rise of the lower classes to a position of equality in the slowly developing democracies. As is well known, this development occurred as a series of concessions wrested from the aristocracy proper by the people, often under middle-class leadership. After what for many cities was an initial and usually unsatisfactory attempt at popular government under the tyrants who provided a weapon against the aristocracy, the battle of the demos was won. In the most notable example, Athens, unrestricted democracy for the citizens received its finishing touches with the turn to the device of selecting most of the magistrates and the members of the Council of Five Hundred by lot.

For the beneficiaries of this unrestricted democracy the result of these developments, accompanied as they were by the acquisition of the Athenian Empire, was to give all the citizens a vested interest in the state; some manifestations of this interest were the citizenship restrictions of Pericles in 451 B.C., and his measure providing pay for jury duty. This vested interest in the success of the state, however, was secured for most of the citizens through the city as a whole, not the ownership of substantial amounts of private property. In order to maintain these advantages, the empire was necessary to provide both the funds and the sources of supply to support the state, and so Athens' democracy was committed to a course of action which quickly became aggression. This, in contrast with the aristocratic government of the earlier period, was a new form, and the necessity for teamwork to make it function may be a partial explanation for

the emphasis upon the subjection of the individual to the group, to which allusion was made a bit earlier.

The democracy, however, had not done away with the propertied classes, and as the city under the guidance of the popular leaders whom the aristocratic literary tradition depicts as demagogues went through one disaster after another during the course of the Peloponnesian War, an aristocratic reaction arose. These people, whose position rested upon the ownership of property now being threatened by the events of the war—indeed, many lost their wealth²⁶—began to give indication of being willing to treat with the enemy in order to save their property,²⁷ since they were not economically committed to the retention of the Empire. Their efforts to force these views upon the rest of the state resulted in the class strife described by Thucydides and Xenophon. In the tangled events of the closing years of the war and later, as moderates on both sides were forced to give way ultimately to the tyranny of the Thirty, the final answer came, after the appearance of Spartan help, in the establishment of a moderate democracy which gave due consideration to the position of the upper classes. It is possible to argue that the rehabilitation of the upper classes proved to be the salvation of the state as a political entity against the two threats of unbridled mob rule and tyranny, and that far from having failed, the real forces and intents of the polis had been left intact.

After the Greek cities had threaded their fretful way through the turbulent period of the establishment of the great Hellenistic kingdoms, an interesting pattern began to develop with regard to the function of the upper classes. As early as the reign of Philip II, king of Macedon, there were indications of a tendency toward cooperation between the king and the propertied classes, who were looking to him to secure their rights. In the Hellenistic period this tendency grew into an outright alli-

ance. After a few unsuccessful experiments with oligarchy on the part of some kings such as Cassander,²⁸ the rulers learned to take advantage of the disposition of the upper classes toward stability. Now, however, the lessons of Athenian history had been learned, and henceforth the upper classes were to lead in what turned out to be an alliance between themselves and the demos, whose function in turn was to provide a major safeguard against oligarchy and tyranny. And on the part of the kings, this alliance was maintained by an announced if not always actual support of the democratic constitutions.

As a consequence, despite its lack of complete autonomy, the city state continued during the Hellenistic period as an effective institution, offering many advantages both to its own citizens and to the monarchs. The cities were able to perform real service to the kings in bringing economic and social stability to many areas within their kingdoms. Although on occasion some of them were led to change their allegiance from one king to another in the effort to secure greater concessions, not universally successful, in general they were encouraged by grants of land, rights of asylum,²⁹ and the right to live for the most part by their own laws.³⁰ And as responsible elements, with whom the kings could deal reliably, arose within various other urban settlements, they too were granted the status of free cities.³¹ Much has been said concerning the fictitious aspect of the freedom of cities subjected to exactions and even intervention by the kings, but still within their own territories they were allowed to function as corporations, and within the corporation the upper classes enjoyed a favored position.³²

As the Romans began to move into the Hellenistic world, their frank espousal of the cause of the upper classes is well enough known to relieve the necessity for extended discussion. Wherever they could they set their allies in the upper classes to the task of

administering local areas, making them in the process an aristocracy of service to the Empire. The Roman period will also provide a final observation with respect to the significance of the upper classes. Beginning in the early second century A.D., there were signs of difficulty among the cities which in aggregate formed the Empire. With growing economic troubles, with the urge on the part of the cities themselves to live on a higher standard, and with the expenses involved in currying Roman favor with gifts to the emperor, monumental structures erected in his honor, and deputations dispatched to Rome, the economies of the cities began to falter. The first attention devoted to the problem came in the form of imperial experts sent out to re-establish proper fiscal management within the cities under their care.³³ This however did not prove sufficient to meet the difficulties, which were many and varied and in large measure beyond the control of even the best local administrations. As a result the emperors were forced ultimately to make the local officials personally responsible for the payment of taxes, and with the resulting impoverishment of the upper classes, their vested interests were lost. Even when frozen into their positions by imperial decree, they gradually became unable to function, and along with them many of the cities declined into oblivion in the western Empire. While it is possible to show that this development was the result of many more factors than simply the affairs of the upper classes, they and their cities passed from the scene together.

IN CONCLUSION, it is possible to say that the ancient city state endured so long for a number of reasons. Social, economic, and political convenience and the need for protection were in one way or another always operative in perpetuating the institution, and to these may be added the interests and efforts of the upper classes. It has been seen that, if the major concern of the

wealthy members of the state was to maintain political stability and with it to secure their property rights, for these people at least the polis cannot have failed in the fourth century B.C. The cities continued to serve their inhabitants both in solving many problems of local administration and in providing a form of collective bargaining in dealing with more powerful political entities. Finally, the argument that the upper classes were vitally important in these arrangements receives forceful support from the privileges which accrued to them from their service to the Hellenistic kings and to the Romans, on whom the lesson of their importance had not been lost.

Many questions raised here have been only partially answered. Of particular interest among them are those concerning the existence of autonomous city states in the Near East, the infrequency of truly democratic institutions in every period, many aspects of the economic arrangements of the cities, and the presence or absence of social advantage in the system of upper-class domination. All of these questions deserve and will reward further study.

Indiana University

¹ In the Republic Socrates is attempting to ascertain the nature of justice. To examine it in individuals, he must first fix its boundaries within the state. His well-ordered state—as it was for Aristotle also—is in fact a city.

² Apoc. 21. 2.

³ For the size of the city, cf. A. W. Parsons, "The Long Walls to the Gulf," in *Corinth: Results of Excavations*, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 85 ff. For the popularity of the shrine of Asclepius, cf. Carl Roebuck, in *Corinth*, vol. 14, pp. 22, 24.

⁴ For example, this opinion is expressed rather dramatically by Kathleen Freeman, *Greek City-States* (London, 1950) pp. xv-xx, and Humphrey Michell, *The Economics of Ancient Greece*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1957) pp. 1, 35-36; in some moderation by Gustav Glotz, *La Cité Grecque* (Paris, 1928) p. 448; and with some insight by H. D. F. Kitto, *The Greeks* (Penguin) pp. 158 ff., especially 160.

⁵ 3. 82.

⁶ That the Sumerian cities were more or less particularist in their outlook has been stated often in the past; a recent such statement is to be

found in S. N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer* (Indian Hills, Colo., 1956) p. 27.

⁷ Welles (C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* [New Haven, 1934]) no. 6. The letter praises the city for its fidelity—which would indicate some voluntary action on the city's part—and grants it certain (unnamed) favors.

⁸ Welles, pp. 150-51. Cf. note 28 below.

⁹ The letters comprising the royal correspondence published by Welles (above, note 7) are particularly illuminating in this regard. Nearly all of them have some bearing on the matter, but see especially no. 32, which is more than usually instructive, since it, along with Welles' discussion, shows something of the tangled political relations of the cities of the Ionian League with the Hellenistic kings vis-à-vis the Romans.

¹⁰ Cf. the evidence discussed by V. Gordon Childe in *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, 4th ed. (London, 1952) pp. 130 ff.

¹¹ The reluctance of the early Greek to entrust himself to wandering alone and unaided about the country-side is mirrored in such things as the Theseus legend with its monsters and giants, the frequent use of the sentence of exile in lieu of capital punishment for major offenders, and the early appearance of the "guest-friend" concept, by which a displaced person could hope to secure hospitality and refuge among members of his own class in other towns.

¹² The description of the articles found at Ur has been condensed and put into very readable form by Sir Leonard Woolley in *Excavations at Ur* (London, 1954); see especially pp. 32-90 for the Royal Cemetery with its spectacular metalwork. H. R. Hall, *A Season's Work at Ur* (London, 1930) p. 95, draws a comparison between these finds and those made at Mycenae and in the tomb of Tutankhamun. For the evidence that this specialization in metalwork continued through the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur, see Woolley's discussion concerning this later time, but the most conclusive evidence is to be found in the cuneiform texts, published by Léon Legrain in *Ur Excavation Texts III: Business Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur* (London, 1937 and 1947). To these last may be added many other texts from Ur appearing in numerous modern publications. These texts show a much greater frequency of interest in metals and jewelry than do the tablets from any of the other Ur III cities.

¹³ The ideal is of course stated by Pericles and reported by Thucydides, 2.37: "For we enjoy a government that does not seek to emulate the laws of others, but which much rather serves as an example for them to imitate; because its power resides not with the few but with the many, it is called a democracy." For the Old Oligarch, Aristophanes, Plato and others, this ideal of democracy did not exist without serious qualifications. Consequently, their descriptions of and allowances for the actual life of the city state amount only to a criticism of the ideals of Pericles and the democrats, not their own concepts of the state.

¹⁴ Childe (above, note 10) pp. 119 f.

¹⁵ Thorkild Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2 (1943) 170, n. 66, and "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," *Zeitschrift für*

Assyriologie 18[52] (1957) 91-140, takes the view that the early Babylonian creation-story mirrors among the gods institutions which in fact existed among men, and that therefore the selection of Marduk as their champion and his election to the superior powers of a king by the assembly of the gods is a reflection of human democratic procedures. In the light, however, of such things as the existence of a definite priestly bureaucracy in the temple communities of early Sumer, and the indications of a "bicameral" legislature in the city of Erech (see note 16, below), the same evidence can be used to argue for an early priestly aristocracy, as I hope to show in a forthcoming study.

¹⁶ Kramer (above, note 6) p. 26, and "Gilgamesh and Agga," *AJA* 53 (1949) 1-18.

¹⁷ Although Kramer prefers "fighting man" as the translation of the term *gurush* (*Tablets*, p. 29), basing it upon the discussion of Thorild Jacobsen in P. Delougaz and S. Lloyd, *Pre-Sargonic Temples in the Diyala Region* (Chicago, 1942) p. 297, and the Old Akkadian equivalent cited there, *gurush* = "atum, the 'typical expression for soldier.'" However, *gurush* (*KAL*) as a logogram means "strong," and is little more than a general word in Sumerian for a man in his full strength, and could refer with equal ease to a soldier or a worker—or simply serve as the general term "man" (cf. *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. 4, pp. 407-11).

Since in the present text *gurush* is contrasted with *ab-ba-uru*, "elder(s) of the city," it must refer to the common assembly as distinguished from the upper class "elders." That more is intended than simply a distinction between the old and timid in one group and the young and strong in the other is shown by the occasional appearance of *ab-ba-uru* as a personal title on Ur III tablets. Further, in the Sumerian economic texts the term *gurush* refers to workers of a menial sort for the most part, who often appear only as numbers of men, while the members of the officialdom always bear personal names. Its use even in a pejorative sense is noted in *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. 4, p. 411, and most of the instances where it appears in the poetic literature as descriptive of gods and heroes are confined to indications of physical strength and prowess in battle.

¹⁸ Cf. Ungnad's article "Datenlisten" in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, vol. 2, pp. 131-94, where references to action against Tulaish occur in the formulae for years 30, 32 and 38; against Maltu in years 30, 33 and 34; against Subartu in years 33, 37, 39 and 40. That particularly Subartu refers to a country rather than a city is to be admitted, but the formula for year 33 states that Mari (cf. note 19, below) and "the cities of Subartu" were brought under Hammurabi's control.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the relations between Hammurabi and the kings around him, especially the king of Mari, see Böhl, "King Hammurabi in the Setting of His Times" in *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, AFD. Letterkunde*, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 9, No. 10, 341-68, especially 346 and 352 ff. The reasons for the conflict are likely to have rested in matters of trade as Isin, Babylon and Mari all were competing for their relative positions of advantage to monopolize the trade made feasible by geography and the growing social and economic changes characterized by the private prop-

erty so well attested in the Hammurabi period.

²⁰ Julius Lewy, *Die Altassyrische Texte von Kültepe bei Kaisarije, Tablettes Cappadociennes*, etc. See also Seton Lloyd, *Early Anatolia* (Penguin) p. 123 and "Bibliography," p. 216.

²¹ Because of their paucity the Assyrian economic documents present special problems. However, in the relatively vast annalistic literature and correspondence of the kings there are repeated references to towns, among which the major cities such as Damascus and Babylon stand out, clearly attempting to manage their own affairs. See especially the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III and Ashurbanipal in D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1926) I and II.

²² For the economic organization at Ugarit, cf. Virolleaud, *Syria* 21 (1940) 148 ff., which offers lists of crafts and "corporations." Of C. H. Gordon's many publications touching upon these matters, see for instance his *Ugaritic Literature* (Rome, 1949) pp. 122-27.

²³ For Neo-Babylonian business activity, there is a number of special collections to which to turn, such as A. T. Clay, *Business Documents of the Murashu Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II*, and J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon, und Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon*.

²⁴ For documentation and some speculation concerning the existence of a royal service corps, but not the term "bureaucracy," in Mycenaean times, see T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London, 1958) pp. 11 f., 22 and 285.

²⁵ On the question of the difference in this respect between the Mycenaean cities and their archaic and classical counterparts, see Webster, pp. 22 and 155.

²⁶ Xen. *Mem.* 2. 7. 2 and *Hel.* 2. 4. 1 ff. One may

also note the case of the father of Isocrates the Orator, to which he refers in 15. 161.

²⁷ There is considerable unanimity of opinion in the ancient sources on this point, both as regards negotiations with the Persians and a willingness to treat with the Spartans: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 29: "the Many were quick to agree [to a change in government] since they thought the king (of the Persians) would be much more likely to fight on their side if they had an oligarchic constitution"; Thuc. 8. 48: "The most powerful of the citizens began to have many hopes regarding these matters [i.e., the suggestion that Alcibiades could set up an alliance with the king of the Persians], since they were the ones suffering the most, and of seizing power for themselves out of the war." See also Arist. *Pol.* 1304b, Thuc. 8. 54, and the strong support provided by the general tenor of Aristophanes' works and the Old Oligarch, especially as commented upon by Gilbert Murray, *A History of Ancient Greek Literature* (New York, 1897) pp. 168 f. Glotz (above, note 4) p. 362, offers a discussion of the organization of the "clubs" which mobilized this aristocratic opinion.

²⁸ A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford, 1940) p. 157. The attitude of the Ptolemies and the Attalids towards the use of oligarchy and intervention in the cities under their control is discussed by Victor Ehrenberg, *Der Staat der Griechen* (Leipzig, 1957) vol. 2, pp. 53 ff. Cf. also note 8, above.

²⁹ See note 9, above.

³⁰ The importance to the Greeks of being tried by their own laws is shown by Cic. *Ad Att.* 6. 1. 15.

³¹ Jones (above, note 28) p. 162.

³² *Ibid.* p. 167.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 136 and n. 79, which gives the ancient sources.

From Other Journals editor ROGER A. HORNSBY

THE FOLLOWING BIBLIOGRAPHY embraces the period from late 1957 to January, 1959 (except for one 1954 article). It is composed of articles which have appeared in non-classical periodicals, both scholarly and popular. By "non-classical" I mean those journals which a professional classicist or one interested in Classics would not ordinarily be inclined to come across. Hence in my survey I have excluded, in general, journals of art, philosophy, poetry and religion. The bibliography is not exhaustive, for some things were either too specialized or too pointless for inclusion. Each entry has a brief note on the contents of the article and some have comments on the value of the article which, of course, are the results of my own prejudices.

By and large, little first-rate work has appeared interpreting the ancient authors to the public, and little enough has been done to explain the vital connection between Greece and Rome and the modern world. Both of these areas need much attention. What has appeared has generally been written by non-classicists who are sympathetic to the cause of Classics and to the non-classical public as well. As classicists, we might bear in mind that, "They know not Classics who only Classics know."

ANTOINE, ROBERT, "Indian and Greek Epic," *Quest* 17 (April-June, 1958) 37-49.

An essay on the similarities and distinctions between the heroic societies of ancient Greece and India. The discussion is based on the epic literature of both cultures. This well-written essay, designed for the general reader, illuminates well the varying aspects of these two cultures.

BALDANZA, FRANK, "Plato in Dixie," *The Georgia Review* 12 (1958) 151-67.

An examination of "Platonic" images, structure and ideas in the works of Carson McCullers and Truman Capote. Although this article is greatly informative about specific works of McCullers and Capote, it does not make a particularly cogent case for the general influence of Plato on the two writers. Plato seems almost a gimmick which permits Mr. Baldanza to make certain rather obvious points.

BARROLL, J. LEEDS, "Shakespeare and Roman History," *Modern Language Review* 53 (1958) 327-43.

An article for specialists of Shakespeare and Elizabethan history on how the Elizabethans viewed Roman history.

BISSON, L. A., "Valéry and Virgil," *Modern Language Review* 53 (1958) 501-11.

A survey of the influence of Virgil on Paul Valéry which was prompted by the publication of Paul Valéry's translation in French of Vergil's *Bucolics*. The article is informative on how one modern French poet regarded the great Roman writer — not too favorably.

BROCKETT, O. G., "The Greek National Theatre's Staging of Ancient Drama," *Educational Theatre Journal* 9 (1957) 280-86.

An eyewitness account of how the Greek National Theatre staged the ancient classical drama, specifically *Medea*, *Antigone*, *Oedipus Rex* and *Ecclesiastusae*, in 1956. An excellent and informative article which discusses how one modern company solved some of the problems which arise in staging classical Greek drama.

BROCKETT, O. G., "Euripides' *Medea*: Mythic Context and the Sense of Futurity," *Tulane Drama Review* 2 (1958) No. 3, 23-33.

Brockett argues that awareness of the myth of Jason, Medea and Aegeus is essential for understanding the play and for solving the "problems" of the play, e.g., the Aegeus scene. The play demonstrates how self-love destroys the present and the future, which is represented by the motif of the children. An interesting article which goes far towards a critical discussion of the play.

CARTER, ROLAND D., "Some Coincidences in *Oresteia* and the Christian Tradition," *CEA Critic* 20 (1958) 2-3.

An arrangement of parallel columns of statements and actions from the *Oresteia* and the "drama" of Jesus which suggests similarities between the Greek trilogy and Christian tradition. Although interesting and suggestive, the article does not explore nor illuminate the comparisons widely enough.

COBIN, MARTIN T., "An Oral Interpreter's Index to Quintilian," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 44 (1958) 61-66.

An index to passages of the twelve books of the *Institutio Oratoria* which might be of interest to the teacher or student of oral interpretation. In addition to entries by book, paragraph and line, the author has supplied entries based on the pagination of the Loeb edition.

ENGSTROM, A. G., "Vergil, Ovid, and the Cry of Fate in *Madame Bovary*," *Philological Quarterly* 37 (1958) 123-26.

Passages from *Aeneid* 4. 165-70 and Ovid's *Heroides* 7 (Dido to Aeneas) 95-96 illuminate a thematic device in Flaubert's novel. When she first consents to Rodolphe, Emma hears, like Dido, a voice which she believes to be the voice of happiness, but when she hears the same cry at the end of the novel, she realizes that it was actually the voice of doom. An excellent article on how a modern writer uses the work of the ancients.

FELDMAN, LOUIS H., "Philo-Semitism Among the Ancient Intellectuals," *Tradition* 1 (Fall, 1958) 27-39.

A survey of references to Orthodox Jewry in ancient writings which are pro-Semitic. A good antidote to the general anti-Semitism so often found in the ancient world.

GIGNAC, FRANCIS T., "The Decoding of Linear B," *Thought* 33 (1958) 253-71.

A survey for the layman of the work leading to the achievement of Ventris in decoding Linear B and some of the results of that achievement for our understanding of ancient Cretan civilization. This clear, concise article, which is non-technical, can be well recommended as an introduction to interested students.

GRAY, CHARLES EDWARD, "An Analysis of Graeco-Roman Development. The Epicyclical Evolution of Graeco-Roman Civilization," *American Anthropologist* 60 (1958) 13-31, and KROEBER, A. L., "Gray's Epicyclical Evolution," *ibid.* 31-38.

Following Spengler and Toynbee, Gray attempts to survey the whole of Graeco-Roman civilization (950 B.C.—A.D. 330) as a single epoch in history for which he works out a diagram based on the notion of rise and fall ("a trajectory curve"). He divides this diagram or curve into two halves (at the year 350 B.C.) which he

labels the "ascending city-state" and the "descending super-state." He then proceeds to further subdivisions of these two periods and then subdivisions of the subdivisions. Gray wants to present in a unified manner the whole of ancient culture and to suggest through the diagrams possible ways of interpreting puzzling phenomena, e.g., why classical civilization collapsed. Kroeber favorably comments on Gray's work, seeing in it a useful tool for interpreting and understanding ancient history. The article is a fascinating curiosity, but not much more, for Gray reasons after the fact. Further, his sources are meager (only four secondary ones are mentioned and no primary ones), and his criteria for testing his hypothesis are excellent illustrations of what not to do.

GROSVENOR, GILBERT, "The Aegean Isles: Poseidon's Playground," *The National Geographic Magazine* 114 (December, 1958) 733-81.

Some rather pretty pictures of the islands in the Aegean and a new map of Greece and the Aegean. The text is as cloying as the title would lead you to suspect.

GUTHRIE, W. K. C., "The Legacy of Greek Thought," *AUMLA* (Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association) No. 8 (May, 1958) 3-17.

This public lecture delivered at the University of Melbourne in 1957 examines for the non-professional audience the heritage of Greek thinking which is rationalism for the western world. A good essay for demonstrating the value of the Classics.

ISENBERG, MEYER W., "The Classics and Humanities Curriculum," *The Journal of General Education* 10 (1957) 49-54.

A discussion of what makes Greek and Roman literature useful for the purposes of humanities courses. Briefly, the answer is because they present types or forms of literature clearly, profoundly and simply. To illustrate his thesis, the author discusses comedy as it appears in *Alcestis*, *Moscellaria* and *The Cocktail Party*. This well-written article is a useful corrective to those who insist on using the Classics in such courses solely because of their intrinsic worth or because they stand at the beginning of western literature.

JOHNSON, JAMES WILLIAM, "Tertullian and A Modest Proposal," *Modern Language Notes* 73 (1958) 561-63.

Because both use the metaphor of cannibalism.

balism, the author suggests Swift's essay may have been inspired by Tertullian's *Apology*.

KENDALL, WILLMOORE, "The People Versus Socrates Revisited," *Modern Age* 3 (1958-59) 98-111.

An essay directed against those who cite the *Crito* and *Apology* as evidence of Plato's adherence to the idea of total freedom of speech. In refuting the liberal claim that the Assembly of Athenians is to be condemned for its punishment of Socrates, Kendall closely examines the two dialogues of Plato to show that in the *Apology* the Athenians must act the way they did and in the *Crito* that Socrates must act the way he did. The article is suggestive, because of its insistence on reading these dialogues in a less historical fashion than is customary today. But the problem Kendall finds in the liberal interpretation seems to me to be non-existent.

McFARLANE, I. D., "New Latin Verse: Some New Discoveries," *Modern Language Review* 54 (1959) 22-28.

A scholarly article on Neo-Latin poetry in France with reference to Antoine Heroet and Ronsard. For the specialist.

McNARY, CHARLES T., "Influence of the Classics on America's Industrial Economy," *Advanced Management* 19 (July, 1954) 15-18.

An article filled with clichés on the value of Classics as a background for business and life. If the author believes what he says, the American economy is even worse off than we suspect.

MOMIGLIANO, ARNALDO, "The Place of Herodotus in the History of Historiography," *History* 43 (1958) 1-13.

A review of the way Herodotus has been regarded by subsequent historians from Thucydides to the present day. This excellent and genial article traces the contempt and scorn which has been his lot until his modern vindication. Useful for the interested layman as well as the specialist.

NORGAARD, HOLGER, "Translations of the Classics into English before 1600," *The Review of English Studies* 9 (N.S.) No. 34 (May, 1958) 164-72.

Corrects errors of dates, names, descriptions of manuscripts and overlooked items in

the list of translations of classics into English before 1600 found in R. R. Bolgar's *The Classical Heritage* (Cambridge, 1954).

PALMER, L. R., "The Mycenaean Tablets and Economic History," *The Economic History Review* 11 (1958) 87-96, and

FINLEY, M. I., "Note," *ibid.* 97.

A rebuttal to Finley's article in *The Economic History Review* 10 (1957) 128-41, on the Mycenaean tablets and what they reveal about the economic history of Crete. Palmer controverts Finley's argument and in turn Finley in the Note briefly replies.

SPALDING, PHINIZY, "A Stoic Trend in William Alexander Percy's Thought," *Georgia Review* 12 (Fall, 1958) 241-58.

The author seeks to show the influence of the Stoicism of Marcus Aurelius and of Seneca on this southern poet of the first half of the twentieth century.

STAPLETON, LAURENCE, "The Theme of Virtue in Donne's Verse Epistles," *Studies in Philology* 55 (1958) 187-200.

Another article of source hunting. This time it is a discussion of virtue as it appears in Plato's *Protagoras* and its possible influence on Donne's use of the term in his verse epistles.

WALSH, P. G., "Cicero and Christian Humanism," *Month* 206 (1958) 282-90.

An essay in honor of the bimillenary of Cicero's death which discusses the influence of Cicero on Christian thought with particular reference to philosophy and rhetoric. Although not an original contribution, the article is excellent as an "appreciation" directed toward the general public.

WALSH, P. G., "The Historian Tacitus," *Studies* 47 (1958) 288-97.

Inspired by Ronald Syme's *Tacitus*, Walsh discusses sympathetically both Tacitus and Syme. Useful for the general public and possibly for elementary students who read Tacitus for the first time.

WILL, FREDERICK, "The Knowing of Greek Tragedy," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 16 (1958) 510-18.

An essay which attempts to unify cognitive and emotive criticism. The author examines how Greek tragedy evokes our sympathy and Greek comedy our criticism.

CLASSICS: THE BEST MOORING

When former President Harry S. Truman and Vice President Richard M. Nixon endorsed the study of Latin as an important part of education, the matter received wide coverage in the press early this year, and was reported in *The Forum* in the April issue of *CJ*. The following editorial on the same subject, clipped by Dr. Claude W. Barlow of Clark University, appeared in the *Providence Journal*.

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON and ex-President Truman have taken a strong stand on a subject which will not net their respective parties a hatful of votes — the teaching of Latin in the schools; yet it is seemly that two such prominent Americans address themselves to an old-fashioned virtue. We use "virtue" in the sense of an achievement gained by diligent and conscientious industry, and certainly Latin came hard to the schoolboy tossed head first, during past generations, into the bewilderment of a Latin grammar and Caesar by decree of a school board which had undergone the same discipline.

Have we as a people suffered in our standards by the decline in the study of the classical languages? Has the sacrifice of the classics as "dead" by modern education been wise?

A reference to *The Federalist*, the remarkable series of papers set forth by Hamilton, Jay, and Madison in justification of the Constitution, is much to the point. The men who wrote those essays were steeped in the learning of the classical tradition. It shows in their analogies, in their reasoning, and in the clearness and precision of their writing. They were not professional political scientists; they were well educated men, philosophers guided by their own experience, informed by the wisdom of the past and knowing in their estimates of human nature. They had common assumptions, based on humanistic education, as a springboard for their great aim — to convince a people by reason and persuasion of the utility of the Constitution.

The shunting aside of the classical languages has exacted its price in the growing pedestrianism of style in writing. The language of our statesmen has the clamminess of a dead mackerel. We except Charles de

Gaulle, whose polished French derives straight from Latin, and Winston Churchill, who writes in the grand style out of the historian Gibbon, whose language was clear Ciceronian. A man who has studied Latin builds a sentence differently from a man who has not, and has a wider vocabulary from which to pick and choose. John Milton was a magnificent stylist; he wrote as though translating from the Latin.

The advocates of the classical disciplines may be fighting a hopeless rearguard action. But there are signs that educators are more and more appreciating that the classics offer the best mooring for a rounded education.

ATLANTIS DID EXIST, RUSSIANS SAY

Americans are learning not to scoff at pronouncements of Russian professors. The following Associated Press dispatch from London (*Richmond Times-Dispatch*, January 25, 1959) merits attention, especially in view of recent Russian submarine activity in charting the floor of the Atlantic Ocean.

THE RUSSIANS have revived an old tradition by reporting evidence that the legendary island of Atlantis really existed and plunged beneath the Atlantic ocean 12,000 years ago.

A Soviet professor announced over radio Moscow that "at the place where legends said Atlantis existed a submerged mountain range and a large plateau have been discovered."

"The work of other Soviet scientists also suggests that Atlantis once existed," said Professor Hirov, who was not otherwise identified.

His announcement reopened speculation about the existence of the island that the ancient Greeks pictured as once a great continent with powerful armies.

Moscow's announcement said Professor Zhirov [sic] has "completed research on the problem of Atlantis," but the professor hastened to make clear that "the problem is far from solved."

"No remains of the material culture of its inhabitants have yet been found," he said.

"Research has shown that this region once was land, but 12,000 years ago it sank beneath the sea."

The broadcast did not say how the Soviet scientists had conducted their research.

ENCOURAGING NEWS FROM FLORIDA

Dr. Herbert C. Lipscomb, Professor Emeritus of Latin at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, mailed in the following clipping, received from a former student. It was an Associated Press item from Tallahassee, appearing in the Atlanta Journal (February 8, 1959).

FOR A SO-CALLED "dead" language, Latin shows considerable life in Florida.

A survey of high schools by a Florida State University teacher, Miss Edith West, shows a total of 13,115 students are enrolled in Latin courses this year. This is nearly 2,000 more than studied the language last year.

Latin was second in popularity to Spanish and far ahead of French.

HOMER AND OVID AS BEST SELLERS

An editorial in the Richmond News Leader (January 27, 1959) revealed some interesting facts about the American public's taste in books:

THE RETURNS are in now on book sales in 1958, and a gratifying picture it is that *Publishers' Weekly* discloses for the year. Despite the recession, which affected book sales as it affected everything else, Americans bought a fabulous quantity of books; and in some areas of the book trade, especially in the field of quality paperbacks, there lies evidence that the Republic is not quite so illiterate as it often appears to be. . . .

In the world of the paperback, *Publishers' Weekly* found a "very bright" sales picture. Business in the cheaper paperbacks was up from 7 to 25 per cent—*Peyton Place*, *Mandingo*, and *God's Little Acre* still are smelling up the landscape at a great rate—but the encouraging thing is that sales of quality lines are soaring. One house experienced a 94 per cent jump over its 1957

sales, and every publisher of quality paperbacks is bullish about his prospects for 1959. All is not lost in a country that turns David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* into a 450,000-copy best seller and makes it profitable to sell classics by Twain, Joyce, Wolfe, and Toynbee. Penguin Books identified its 1958 best seller as E. V. Rieu's translation of the *Odyssey*, and Indiana University Press named Rolfe Humphries' beautiful version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as its top paperback title—all of which must prove something about submerged national tastes. . . .

JOSEPH ALSOP AND THE CLASSICS

Excerpts from a book review by A. J. Liebling, appearing in The New Yorker, December 20, 1958:

ONE OF THE MOST USEFUL of American journalists is Joseph Alsop, who, with his brother Stewart, has now written "The Reporter's Trade" (Reynal), which summarizes their twelve years of service as Capitoline geese. (A well-deserved sentiment of gratitude endeared geese to the Romans, Polybius informs us; their noisy clamor once saved the Capitol.) Cassandra and the Boy Who Cried Wolf went unheeded at critical moments of their careers—they, too, were both as right as rain—but the geese had what is now called the faculty of communication. So have the Alsops, who since 1946 have conducted a syndicated newspaper column, called "Matter of Fact." . . .

Discontent has armed [Joseph Alsop] against complacency. His is a belligerent alarm, expressed with a fine, shrill scorn. . . . After the Chinese Communists whipped MacArthur, in 1950, he compared that reverse to the destruction of the Athenian army and fleet at Syracuse, in the fifth century B.C., which wiped out Athens as a world power (we are not quite dead). It is a credit to his honesty that he reproduces [such] instances of overgloom in his book. They resulted from sheer negative exuberance. The Athenians after Syracuse, Alsop wrote, quoting Thucydides, "mourned and the city mourned. . . . Whichever way they looked there was trouble; they were overwhelmed by their calamity, and they were in fear and consternation unutterable." It is the kind of line he would have enjoyed originating. . . .

BOOK REVIEWS

editor VERNE B. SCHUMAN

Ecclesiaste by Alexander of Villa Dei, edited with introduction, notes, and English translation by L. R. LIND. University of Kansas Press (photo-offset), 1958. Pp. x, 155. \$4.00.

REICHLING's unsurpassed work on Alexander of Villedieu is now fittingly supplemented by the labors of Mr. Lind. Alexander's *Doctrinale* (1199), similar in its significance and mediocrity to the systems of Isidore of Seville, overshadows by far his *Ecclesiaste*. Curtius and Haskins, indeed, each mention the *Doctrinale* twice, the *Ecclesiaste* not at all. In its own province the church document offers much of value to the student of medieval culture. It is a narrow-minded and therefore reliable summary of the liturgical year, editorializing spasmodically against all paths of secularism and commenting inexactly on scientific principles. As canonical literature the 2002 hexameters reflect the sincere and intense devotion to ritual and practice out of which developed pre-Thomistic ecclesiastical stability. As literature proper, or even as mere verse, they leave everything to be desired. Mr. Lind's brief and informative introduction is an honest appraisal of the work's value. He has emphasized the importance of the verse *computus* in the medieval church tradition. He refrains from praising Alexander.

The following is a noteworthy specimen of Mr. Lind's estimate: "He forms an important part of the twelfth century reaction against the teaching of the Latin poets, rhetoric, and allied subjects; as Paoletti shows, theology was soon to win out over the *auctores* as the chief element in the curriculum, and Alexander was to be proved right, as far as the weight of influence and prestige was concerned, just as the weight of science has been greater than that of the humanities in the modern curriculum, especially in the university." Two of Alexander's almost interesting lines bear this out:

Philosophia docet homines ibi uiuere posse;
Theologia tamen illic aliquos negat esse. . .

The book includes a respectable *apparatus criticus*, a useful *calendarium perpetuum* (after Van Wijk) and a three-page bibliography, along with indices *nominum propriorum*, *verborum selectorum* and *locorum sacrae scripturae*.

If the translation strikes one as pedestrian it is not the translator's fault. Alexander has hardly been generous with facile continuity. Mr. Lind might healthily have been less literal with *trahens manus* ("his drawing hand") or *prima sibi vult versus lectio subdi* ("The first reading wishes three verses to be added to itself."); he might even have noted Alexander's rare nod toward variety by translating the neighboring phrases (lines 534, 536) *Neumatis Almi* and *Spiraminis Almi* in two phrases rather than permitting "nourishing Spirit" to serve each; but not to follow these suggestions is by no means inconsonant with the spirit of this thirteenth-century educator. (Note: I see little reason why the text would not be improved by a consistent use of *v* or *u* for consonantal *u*; compare *uiuere* and *vult versus* in the lines quoted above.)

ROY ARTHUR SWANSON

University of Minnesota

La Loi navale de Themistocle, by JULES LABARBE. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule CXLIII) Pp. 238.

THE NAVAL LAW in question here is that by which the Athenian citizens dedicated the revenues of their Laureion silver mines to the construction of two hundred (Herd. 7.144) or one hundred (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22.7; Plut. *Them.* 4) triremes, the backbone of the Greek navy during the campaigns of 480-479. The author analyzes in minute detail every problem connected with the law: the number of ships actually constructed (one hundred by revenues from the old mines, one hundred from new mines, plus a few more in 480); the development of the mines and their revenues in the era; the chronology of events 485-480 (summarized on p.107); and, in a lengthy Second Part, the growth of Athenian population, 510-479. Here Labarbe discovers a very substantial increase, from 30,000 to 40,000 adult male citizens (500-480), which "explains in large part why Athens set itself so bold, on the political level, the cowl as on the military plane" (p. 211).

Western Maryland College SUMMER LATIN WORKSHOP

With the cooperation of the CAAS

June 29 to July 17, 1959

July 20 to August 5, 1959

The Latin Workshop

Classical Background of Use to the

Latin Teacher

Latin Readings

Lectures, Exhibits, Trip

For Complete Information Write For Brochure

DR. WILLIAM R. RIDINGTON
WESTERN MARYLAND COLLEGE
WESTMINSTER, MARYLAND

Any student of early fifth-century Athens will gain much profit from careful analysis of Labarbe's work, but the general reader need not feel any obligation to rush to consult its pages. The author's arguments are usually logical but not compellingly convincing. He essays too often to reconcile divergent bits of evidence by ingenious manipulations of figures or double dating; he takes too seriously round numbers, as the three myriads of Herod. 5.97 (on his view of Herodotus, cf. p. 173, n.); his webs of conjecture are often much too thin. Nor can he pass by the doubtfully relevant (as p. 168, on hoplite equipment). His calculations of the growth of Athenian population, in particular, must be termed hypothetical, both in view of the evidence he is using and his reliance upon modern proportions of age groups to establish the ancient figures.

On the oracle of the wooden wall, H. W. Parke's *Delphic Oracle* would have been valuable; on the assumption that the useful life of a trireme was twenty years, J. H. Thiel's *Studies on the History of Roman Seafaring*; I do not find any reference to Thiel's essay on Themistocles in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* (1951). Other-

wise the references to modern and ancient literature in the notes are if anything superabundant; the indices are good, as is the proofreading.

CHESTER G. STARR

University of Illinois

The Economics of Ancient Greece, by H. MICHELL. Second Edition. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1957. Pp. 427.

WHEN THIS BOOK first appeared in 1940, it met with general approval on the part of all reviewers. Here, finally, was a work that presented conveniently and ably the story of the economic life of the Greeks down to the Hellenistic Age, and authenticated what it described with a wealth of literary, archeological and numismatic evidence. It was not perfect (what book is?). Reviewers were justifiably unhappy about Michell's insistence on unsound public finance as one of the major causes of Athens' downfall (cf. L. R. Lind in this journal, 38 [1942] 102-104), and there were a number of errors and inconsistencies in the text that needed correction (cf. John Day in *CW* 37 [1944] 232-33). But the criticisms were hardly important in view of the book's enormous usefulness; as Day said, it was "a very competent contribution, with valuable collections and analyses of a great amount of important material."

After being out of print for a number of years, it was resuscitated with the edition now under review. There is no need for extensive comment. The new edition is the same as the old save for the correction of certain obvious errors and the addition of twelve pages of supplementary notes and bibliography. These extra pages, however, fall far short of bringing the book up to date; the choice of what has been added seems almost haphazard. Just to take a pair of obvious examples, surely the new light thrown on the economics of 4th-century Athens by M. Finley's *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens* (New Brunswick, 1952) deserved a note, and surely V. Ehrenberg's *The People of Aristophanes* (Oxford, second edition, 1951), with its wealth of material on the economic life and attitude of the 5th century, deserved inclusion in the bibliography.

It is good to have Michell's book back in print. But the reader must beware of considering it a true second edition, complete up to 1957.

LIONEL CASSON

New York University

MORE ON MYCENEA

The Mycenae Tablets II, edited by EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR.; with an Introduction by Alan J. B. Wace and Elizabeth B. Wace; Translations and Commentary by John Chadwick. (Transactions of The American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume 48, Part 1) Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1958. Pp. 122. \$3.00.

The Olive Oil Tablets of Pylos, Texts of the Inscriptions Found, 1955, by EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR. (Supplement No. 2 to *Minos*) Salamanca: Seminario de Filología Clásica, 1958. Pp. 75, xix plates.

The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1957, by CARL W. BLEGEN and MABEL LANG. Reprinted from the *AJA* 62 (1958) 176-91, plates 38-49.

Mykenisch-Griechische Personennamen, by OSCAR LANDAU. (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia VII) Göteborg: (distributed by Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm), 1958. Pp. 305. Sw. Kr. 28 (sewn), 35 (cloth).

The Decipherment of Linear B, by JOHN CHADWICK. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. x, 147. \$3.75.

THE FIRST THREE of these items increase our stock of published Linear B texts, though not all are in print yet. The most interesting of the Mycenae tablets were included in the *Ventris-Chadwick Documents* (reviewed in *CJ* 52 [1957] 376-80), and some of the Pylos 1955-1957 items have received treatment in print already. This edition of the Mycenae Tablets includes new texts of all those previously included in *M. T. I.*, and thus constitutes a complete edition (as of the time it went to press; a few more tablets from Mycenae have been partially published by Marinatos in *Praktika* 33 (1958) 161-73, particularly 166-73). Of the texts not included in *M. T. I.* or in *Documents*, Ge 605 has the same list of names as Ge 602 (*Docs.* 105) and no words not attested in that or in 603, 604 (= *Docs.* 106, 107) except ka-ra-ko (interpreted as *glákhon*, "pennyroyal," and discussed in *Docs.* p. 226), though it is the only one of the group in which ko-ri-ja-da-na = ko-ri-a₂-da-na (both ways in the same text) is written out in full. Ge 607 is now joined to 605. Ge 606 and 608 contain more of the same, and Go 610 some names, of which Me-ta-47-wa and Pu-i-re-wi are new. The sealings, Wt 501-7, and a fragment, X 508, contain a number of interesting words, but add little to our knowledge. The publication is sumptuous (in familiar arche-

ological style) with numerous plates (photographs and tracings of all texts), figures, vocabulary and indices (but not a reverse index). For the pure archeologist there are the excellent accounts of the Waces, with maps, plans, plates and figures of various rooms, walls, floors, objets d'art and potsherds.

Bennett's thorough publication of the Olive Oil Tablets is welcome. The book opens with an Introduction, in which a wide range of general problems of epigraphy and interpretation are discussed. Then come photographs and tracings of all tablets (on inserted plates), then the edition (with transcriptions, commentary and tentative translations) of all the texts, and finally indexes. Especially interesting is the possible parallel between a ritual called re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo, *lekhestro-te-ri-on* (?) and the Roman *lectisternium*. Bennett's reading of this and some parallel words as neuter singular (dative-locative) seems to me (in view of classical Greek usage) less likely than the genitive plural (neuter) interpretation which he rejects (pp. 29-30), or even, perhaps, locative plural (-ois, written -o). Several forms in -o-i are interpreted by Bennett as locative plural. I think it more probable that they are dative plural (true dative or, in some cases, lative). The adjectives e-ti-we (Fr 343, 1209) and a-e-ti-to (Fr 1200), applied to oil, I should like to interpret as *(h)e-thiwen and *a(h)e-thiton, "strained" and "unstrained," respectively. The word sa-pe-ra in Fr 1215 could be taken as *psapherá*, "thin, loose" as applied to oils, if the peculiar modification of the sa sign could be an indication of the value *psa*, except that the ending seems wrong. Finally, in view of the Hesychian gloss *khlarón·elaie·rós kó-tho-n*, perhaps **khlaré-woes* is the best interpretation of ka-ra-re-we (Fr, formerly Gn, 1184).

Lang's edition of the 1957 Pylos texts is slightly less sumptuous, but in the same general style, with archeological introduction by Blegen. None of these was included in *Docs.* (except Ta 709, which is here completed by the insertion of a large new fragment between the two old ones), and there are several items of interest here. In 709, the phrase pa-ko-to a-pe-te-me-ne is interpreted as *phakto·apenthsmene*, "unroped jars," though the adjective (taken from *peisma*) is a little odd. It is tempting to assume a scribal error, since *apúthmenos*, "without a base" is (a) one of the few attested adjectives in -men-, and (b) regularly applied to vessels. The word e-ka-ra, *eskhára*, "brazier," occurs twice in the completed text, and a new adjective e-pi-ke-wi-

ri-je-u parallel to ai₂-ke-u (already known) applied to tripods makes it unlikely that the words are either words for a material or personal names. Decoration now seems most likely, these adjectives in -e-u being masculines (whose traces remain in words like classical *donakeús*, "a place full of reeds") corresponding probably to feminines in -e-wi-ja (in Ta 711). The word ai₂-ke-u could be *aigeus, "decorated with goats," though the other word remains a mystery (which one would like to connect with *koilia*, "belly" in the sense of *gástra*, "swelling part of a tripod or other vessel"). That pe-de-we-sa means "footed" or that 85 is si₂ still seems dubious to me. An 1281 throws new light on Fn 50. The word te-mi-de-we-te in Sa 1266 appears to establish the value dwe for sign 71. Sb 1315 and Ub 1318, apparently both related to leather goods, but full of new and uncertain words, are perhaps the most interesting of the longer texts. In Sb 1315 I should be inclined to interpret te-u-ke-pi as "with gear," i.e., "with all attachments and parts, etc." rather than "with armor," which seems a little odd for bridles. Miss Lang's interpretation of ka-zo-e in Va 1323 as equivalent to *kakiones*, "inferior," if correct, supports the possibility of a voiceless reading for the z series, for which evidence has been scanty. Many of Miss Lang's readings seem dubious on the evidence of her own drawings: xb 1338.2, for instance, is surely di-pi-si-jo-i, and perhaps belongs with the Oil Tablets.

In all, these texts add about 80 new words (including names but excluding what may be variant spellings or different case forms of known words) to our inventory, of which some ten may be identified fairly confidently with known Greek words. This is a much richer haul than Mycenae offers.

Landau's study is in the main an index of all the words read up to 1956 which might be (including some which are certainly not) personal names, accompanied by all proposed interpretations for them, including new ones by Landau himself. Following this we have a classification and analysis of the names and combining forms used in them. Landau takes a stand on the interpretation of several of the rarer signs. For 23 he supports mu, which seems reasonable, if not certain; about 34 and 35 he is (perhaps needlessly) agnostic; for 47 he proposes kru, which is possible, and not refuted (or clinched) by the new name Me-ta-47-wa from Mycenae (Go 610.1) though this seems to make Sittig's wa₂ unlikely; for 51 he reverts to Ventris' earlier value of da₂, with an occasional value do₂ (see now Lejeune in *Minos* 5 [1957] 130-48). For

65 he considers ja₂ possible, and it seems to be more so than either ni or ju, though the evidence is slim. For 82 he favors the value ku₂ rather than ja₂, though sa₂ (Lejeune and Ruipérez) seems better than either. And, finally, he follows Furumark in reading 85 as su₂, a value supported by the obvious pig's-head shape of the sign, but not yet demonstrable. The new Pylos texts provide a complete reading of a name (previously defective) 85-ke-i-ja-te-we. Neither su₂, nor Georgiev's o₂, nor Palmer and Chadwick's sja or si₂, nor my po₂ or au can be clinched by this evidence, though another value, e₂, is suggested by comparison with e-ke-i-ja-ta in Jn 750.10.

Chadwick's new book is intended to be somewhat more popular in its appeal than *Documents* and to give a fuller and clearer account of the steps leading to decipherment. In both respects it must be considered, if not absolutely successful, very nearly so. Chapters 1-6 are more or less directly concerned with the decipherment itself, 7 with some of the social-historical information gleaned from the tablets, and 8 with possible future developments. The third chapter, on the earlier unsuccessful attempts of various people, is especially entertaining, as is the sixth, dealing with some of the skeptics. An appendix gives nine sample texts, and a useful fold-out table of signs (with values and numbers) is inserted before the last fly-leaf.

I will here add a few remarks on two points which I think Chadwick does not make perfectly clear: the grid and the nature of syllabaries.

The grid represents in convenient form certain statements about the distribution of signs, plus an hypothesis about the structure of the language involved. The hypothesis is that much suffix variation will involve vowel change only, the preceding consonant remaining the same. The distributional statements are such as these: the placing of two signs (x and y) in the same horizontal row of the grid (e.g., ta-to-te-ti) indicates the occurrence of a considerable number of pairs of words ("sign-groups") whose first two, three, four, or more signs are identical, but whose last sign is in one case x, in the other y. The contexts must also admit the hypothesis that the stem is the same in both cases, but that some inflectional or derivational affix is different. Three factors strengthen the assumption that the placing is correct: (1) a large number of different items — e.g., about 50 different pairs of words differ only in the final signs being ja or jo; (2) appropriateness to the context — e.g., the pair wo-wa

is supported by the very frequent occurrence of ko-wo and ko-wa in contexts where it was clear even before decipherment that the first must mean "boys," the second "girls," even though only 8 pairs of words show this change, and this one itself has only one constant sign; (3) the length of the constant part — e.g., wo-wa is further supported by the pair pe-ru-si-nu-wo, pe-ru-si-nu-wa which share four characters, and the probabilities of such a pair being unrelated is very low indeed (in attempting to generate Greek words by sequences of 4 and 5 signs chosen by the use of a table of random numbers I was completely unsuccessful in 20 attempts).

These criteria suffice to establish clearly the following rows or partial rows: ta-to-te-ti-ta₃; da-do-de; ra-ro-re-ri-ra₃-ra₂; na-no-ne-ni; ka-ko-ke; sa-so-si; ma-mo-mi; a₂-o-e-i; wa-wo-we-wi-u; za-zo-ze; ja-jo; qo-qe-qi; pa-po-pi. Other signs (including all in the u- column) must be assigned to rows on some other basis. Other pairs include (1) a group in which one of the final signs is qe, si or pi paired with a variety of unpaired signs or with the absence of this sign, so that these are assumed to represent suffixes with initial consonants; (2) some in which a₂ or a is paired with ja, o with wo, etc., which are ultimately interpreted as variant spellings; (3) a miscellaneous collection of some 100 or so different pairings, none of which occurs more than 5 times (mostly only once), virtually none with any contextual support, and only one with a 4-sign constant part. Many of these word-pairs must be assumed to be related, but only by relatively rare derivational suffixes, some of which must have initial consonants.

Pairs of signs are assigned to the same column (e.g., ta-da-ka-pa-za-sa-ma-na-ra-ja-wa-a, etc.) on the basis (a) of parallel paradigms—i.e., a word ending in sign x₁ occurs in identical environments to a word ending with x₂, while its mate from the same row ending in y₁ shares environments with the other word's partner ending in y₂ (the x environments are, say, city names, the y environments ethnic adjectives or the like); (b) that two signs frequently occur in clusters (to-ro, ta-ra, ti-ri, etc.) which are related to each other like single final signs. These will suffice to establish the columns ti-ki-pi-qi-si-mi-ni-ri-wi-i; to-do-ko-zo-po-qo-so-mo-no-ro-jo-wo-o; ta-da-ka-za-sa-na-ra-ra₂-ja-wa-a₂; te-ke-ne-re-we-e. The -i- column can be further supported by noting the special frequency of these signs before -jo-ja- -je-, and the u- column can be tentatively established by special frequency before

The Fifth Indiana LATIN WORKSHOP

June 15-July 3

Choice of study groups concerning:

PRINCIPLES OF LANGUAGE

THE LATIN NOVEL

COMPARATIVE DRAMA

DEVELOPING A LATIN PROGRAM
FOR THE SEVENTH GRADE

This short course may be taken for three hours of graduate credit. Other study will be available in full-length courses (through August 7).

For complete information write:

Professor Norman T. Pratt, Jr.
Department of Classics
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

-wo- -wa- -we-, including first tu-pu-nu-ru-, and later, by noting cluster frequency with ru- (chiefly), also ku-. U-, originally placed in the row with wo-we-, etc., is now shifted to this column and the vowel row. These procedures leave a number of empty squares and unplaced or half-placed signs. These are mainly placed by applying weaker versions of the same tests and by specific completions of individual words; for instance, su is assigned its value mainly on the basis of the words su-qo-ta-o, "of the swineherds," and ku-su-pa, ku-su-pa-ta (ksūmpān, ksūmpānta), "all together." The latter also supports assignment to the u- column (cluster-principle); such placements, of course, are made only after specific consonant values have been assigned to the rows and vowels to the columns. Now, while the strength of the evidence for placing signs in a given row or column varies greatly, there is a minimum of about 50 signs which cannot reasonably be shifted about; that is, if a value ti is assigned to a certain character, three others must share the same consonant and at least 8 others the same vowel.

We are so familiar with the alphabetic method of writing that we are inclined to

forget that it might never have been "invented" except for a very freakish combination of circumstances which never occurred but once. It is not a "natural" method of writing; syllabic script is, and has developed more or less independently at different times and places.

(a) A true alphabet is marked by the fact that it contains signs which are superficially alike in general shape and arrangement, but represent two radically different kinds of phonemes: vowels and consonants. All true alphabets are directly or indirectly derived from the Greek alphabet. (b) A pseudo-alphabet or alphabetic syllabary consists of two kinds of characters, or characters and modifications, one basic letter-like set for the consonants (and often also for initial or post-vocalic vowels), and a diacritic-like set (placed above or below, to right or left, or inside the letter characters), to represent the different following vowels. This is the nature of the scripts of India, Ethiopia, Persia and many more. In such scripts the letter alone usually represents a syllable including a following *a* or *e*; consonants without following vowels must either be omitted, compounded into a single character with the following consonant, marked by a special diacritic, or conventionally written with one "silent" vowel, i.e., with ambiguity as to the value *C* or *Ca* (or *Ce*).

(c) Both true alphabets and pseudo-alphabets are derived from the same source (Semitic) which in its original form may be called a vowel-less alphabet or an unvocalized syllabary; each character represents a consonant, with or without any following vowel. If the language has three phonemic vowels, say, each character may be *C*, *Ca*, *Ci*, or *Cu* indifferently. It is the characteristic of Semitic (and Hamitic) languages which use internal vowel change for derivation and inflection (so that many stems consist wholly of consonants) that suggested this mad simplification to the early Egyptians and Semites. This leads to intolerable ambiguity in languages (like Greek) which have more vowel phonemes and use them to distinguish stems; hence true alphabets and pseudo-alphabets.

(d) A pure syllabary contains (at least) signs representing CV sequences (and simple initial or post-vocalic vowels); that may be all it contains. Unlike the alphabetic syllabaries, these show no particular resemblance between signs containing the same *C* or the same *V*. This places a somewhat greater burden on the memory than alphabets, so simplifications of various kinds are willingly bought at the price of some am-

biguity. It is usual for the contrast of long vs. short vowels or single vs. double consonants to be unmarked; also quite frequent is non-marking of the voicing contrast, i.e., the same sign is used for both *pa* and *ba* (e.g., Cypriote, some cuneiform, Mongolian, etc.; some alphabets have similar defects, e.g., early Latin [*k*=*g*], Umbrian [*t*=*d*, *k*=*g*], early and Cretan Greek [*k*=*kh*, *p*=*ph*], etc.). Since relatively few languages resemble Greek in having three classes of stops (aspirated, voiced, voiceless), the only syllabary I know of which makes this economy (besides Linear B) is the Cypriote.

A language with 20 consonant phonemes, 5 short and 5 long vowels can be accurately written with 26 alphabetic characters if a character for vowel length is used; but this is a very late invention, and without it 30 signs are needed (assuming that double vowels contrast with long ones). In a syllabary, 210 characters are needed for accuracy, if there are no consonant clusters or final consonants in the language (as is the case in some Polynesian languages, for instance). Suspension of the length contrast immediately cuts this down to 105; if there is a voicing contrast affecting three pairs of consonants (*p/b*, *t/d*, *k/g*, for instance), suspension of that contrast will reduce the inventory to 90, which begins to be a manageable size.

If syllable-final consonants occur, they may be handled in various ways; a stock of VC symbols may be added (as in cuneiform, for instance), a CVC syllable being then written CV + VC (repeating the vowel). If five consonants so occur, this will add 25 characters to our stock. Diacritics may be used for such consonants (as in the Cree and Eskimo syllabaries), or a special vowel-removing diacritic (as in Devanagari) may be used. Compound characters may be constructed for clusters (as ordinarily in Devanagari). If only one or two such syllable-final consonants occur, it is possible to add a set of CVC characters for them, but this immediately doubles or trebles our inventory (180 or 270 in our hypothetical language). If we speak of signs including the same initial consonant as a "row" and signs with the same vowel as a "column," then it is possible to adopt rules for the use of one or more columns in certain situations to represent the consonant alone (as in Cypriote, Ethiopian, Old Persian and many other syllabaries). Or, finally, certain or all syllable-final consonants may be simply omitted (as internal nasals in Cypriote, word-final consonants in Old Persian, all syllable-final or word-final consonants in the Philippine scripts — Tagalog, Mang-

yan, Igbuana — and in some varieties of Eskimo as actually used). Greek allows 3 word-final consonants (*s*, *r*, *n*) and 2 additional internal syllable finals (*l*, and *m* before labials); non-syllabic *i* and *u* in diphthongs may be counted as two more. Since *m* and *n* never contrast in this situation, this amounts to seven syllable-final types (if we disregard vowel-length), of which two could be written with available symbols for *i* and *u*. In early Greek, however, after the loss of intervocalic *s*, there was a contrast between disyllabic *a-i* and the diphthong *ai*, and ambiguity would result. So in Linear B as read by Ventris and Chadwick, a syllable might end in any one of six ways internally, or five finally (plus two combinations, *-ns* and possibly *-is*). Of these five, one, *r*, is not a real problem, since it is restricted to the nominative (or nom.-acc. neuter) singular of third-declension nouns, in which the *-r-* is medial in all other cases. But zero, *s*, *n*, *ns* and non-syllabic *i* are all possible case endings for *a*-stem nouns, and four of them are for *o*-stems. Would this lead to any significant amount of ambiguity in, say, Homeric Greek? The answer is no, because of linguistic redundancy.

A true alphabet, with or without a few extra compound characters (such as English *x*), or homophones (*k*, *q*) will have in most cases from 20 to 35 letters, and there is no true alphabet known earlier than ca. 700 B.C.; a simple CV syllabary, with or without a few symbols for complex syllables or sequences or homophonous characters, will have an inventory ranging between 65 and 110; a syllabary with CV and VC (or CVC) characters, if there are only a few homophones and complex symbols, could range between 140 and 300, but some cuneiform inventories are larger than this because of the high number of homophones. Linear B, containing over 80 signs, if it is writing at all, must be a syllabary consisting almost wholly of CV characters, and probably with at least four vowels represented. Since there are no diacritics or modified sets, it cannot be a pseudo-alphabet. There are far too many signs for the (Semitic-type) vowel-less alphabet, even allowing for homophones. And unless the language has an extremely simple phoneme inventory, it cannot be a syllabary with added VC or CVC characters of the cuneiform type.

But the fact that the signs are probably all CV-type signs says absolutely nothing about the structure of the language; in fact, except for the Japanese kana-syllabary, no case is known of a CV-type language (a relatively rare type) written with a CV

The Fourth New England LATIN WORKSHOP

June 29 - July 18

Tufts University 1959 Summer School
in cooperation with the
Classical Association of New England

**GUEST LECTURERS — EXHIBITS
MUSEUM TRIPS
RECREATIONAL FACILITIES
SUMMER THEATER**

Concurrent Workshop in French

For complete information write:

**Professor Van L. Johnson
Edward E. Cohen Fine Arts Center
TUFTS UNIVERSITY
Medford, Massachusetts**

*Suburban Campus in Historic
Metropolitan Boston*

syllabary, whereas several languages with consonant clusters and word-final consonants are or have been written with this type of script.

Now for a few minor criticisms. The map (fig. 1) on p. 9 seems to imply that the "Milesians" mentioned on the tablets came from the historical Miletus in Asia Minor, and similarly with some other place-names. This is at least doubtful. Chadwick's view of the dialect situation in 1200 B.C. (that the texts are a kind of proto-Arcado-Cyprio-Aeolic, and that proto-Attic-Ionic was already fully differentiated) also strikes me as uncertain. The implication (p. 23) that eta and omega were introduced into the Ionic (not the "Greek") alphabet because of their difference in *length* rather than their qualitative difference (since there were other long e's and o's qualitatively like the short ones) is unfortunate. The explanation of the omission of syllable-final liquids, nasals, semivowels and *s* (p. 75) shows unfamiliarity with other syllabaries.

All in all this is an excellent book for an introduction to this fascinating field.

FRED W. HOUSEHOLDER, JR.
Indiana University

ANNOUNCEMENTS

MISS MARGARET M. WELCH has been awarded the 1959 Semple Scholarship Grant for summer study at the American Academy in Rome. Our congratulations to Miss Welch, teacher of Latin and Greek at the Community High School, Wheaton, Illinois. The announcement is made by Professor Grace L. Beede, Chairman of the CAMWS Committee on Awards.

THE VERGILIAN SOCIETY has divided its 1959 scholarship between two winners: Miss Cornelia M. Roberts, Grayslake High School, Illinois; and Miss Anne Dipple, Bathurst Collegiate School, Toronto.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD welcomes Roger A. Hornsby as editor of the department *From Other Journals*, a new version of the former feature providing some coverage of classical material recently appearing in non-classical journals. It is planned that this department will appear once or twice a year, depending upon the amount of appropriate material available. We see by the Papers will be omitted from the issues in which *From Other Journals* appears.

PLANS ARE UNDER WAY to publish a quarterly journal of verse translations entitled *Versio*.

The journal will contain translations of poetry in languages other than modern vernaculars. Medievalists and orientlists are especially urged to contribute. Members of the editorial board: William Arrowsmith, Palmer Bovie, Howard Comfort, Dudley Fitts, Moses Hadas, Rolfe Humphries, L. R. Lind and Peter Russell.

It is expected that at least one issue a year will concentrate on the works of a single author, making available translations for students in literature courses. The plan is to publish a full volume of four issues in 1959. All interested persons are urged to submit manuscripts and/or the subscription price of one dollar per year to the editor: Dr. Wade C. Stephens, R.D. 3-142, Princeton, N.J.

ROME PRIZE FELLOWSHIPS for 1959-1960 have been awarded in classical studies to Dericksen M. Brinkerhoff (Senior Research Fellowship), Alfred K. Frazer, Anne Laidlaw, Michael Wigodsky, and John W. Zarker.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA Summer School (June 29-August 8) will offer Greek 1-2, Introduction to Greek; Latin 510S, Roman Life and Literature; Latin 574, Selected Readings from Latin Prose and Poetry. For further details write to Professor William C. McDermott, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL is published eight times a year, from October through May.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

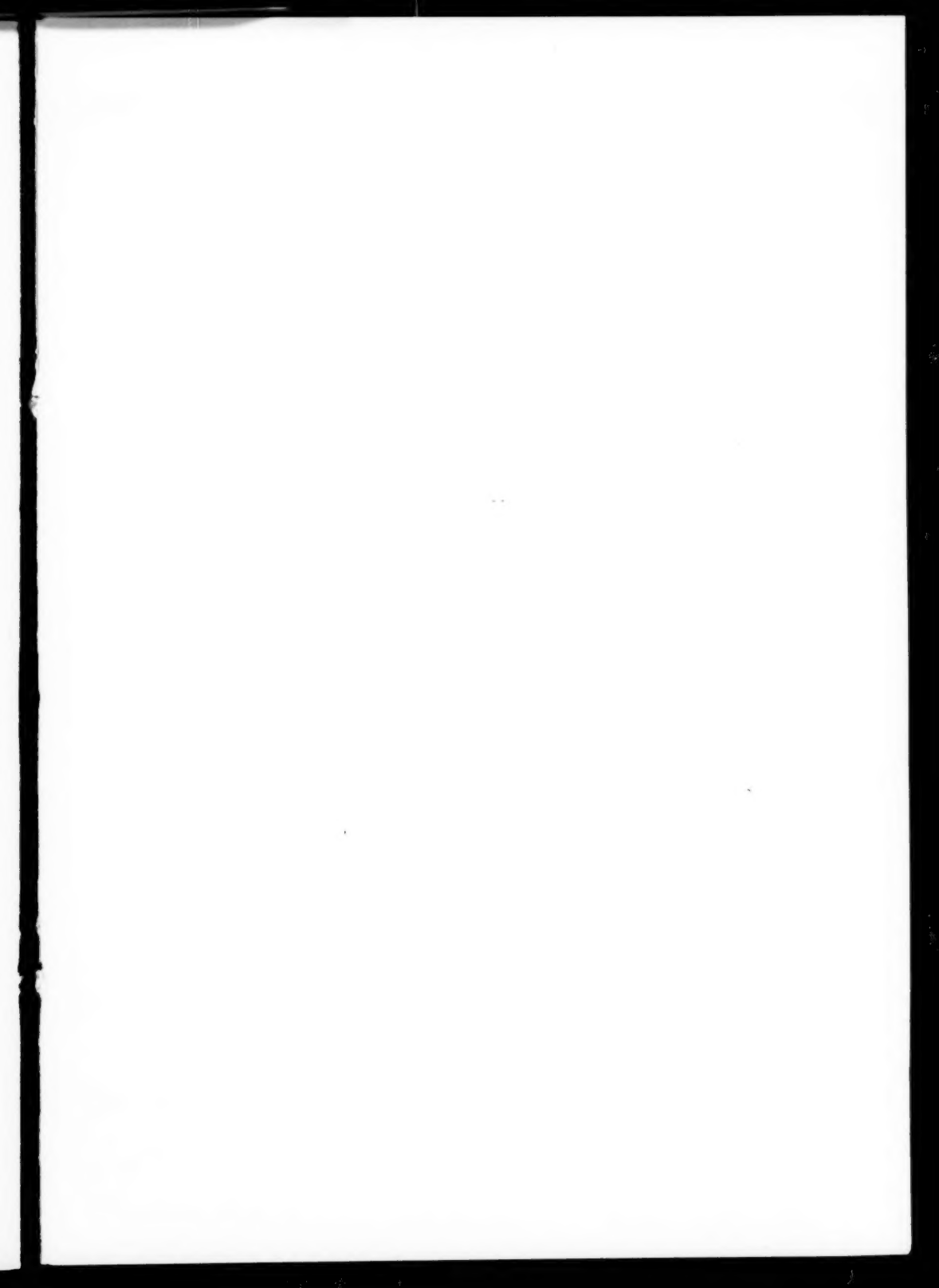
The general price is \$3.75 (U.S.A.), \$4.00 (foreign). Single copies 60c (U.S.A.), 65c (foreign); subscriptions for less than a year at the single-copy rate. Subscriptions may be taken through one of the regional associations listed below, annual membership-subscription rate, \$3.75. Members may receive also the CLASSICAL OUTLOOK and CLASSICAL WORLD; for rates consult the regional secretary-treasurer. Members of CAMWS and CAAS have the option of taking either the CLASSICAL JOURNAL or CLASSICAL WORLD.

MEMBERSHIPS

Address the secretary-treasurer of the appropriate regional association. CAMWS, JOHN N. HOUGH, 8E Hellems Bldg., University of Colorado, Boulder. CANE, CLAUDE W. BARLOW, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. CAAS, F. GORDON STOCKIN, Houghton College, Houghton, N.Y. CAPS (Northern), JOHN CAVERS, Ballard H.S., 1418 W. 65th St., Seattle, Wash.; (Central), EDWARD Y. LINDSAY, Grant Union H.S., Del Paso Heights, Cal.; (Southern), MRS. LOUISE M. J. JONES, P.O. Box 85, Edwards, Cal.

CORRESPONDENCE

All general editorial correspondence, MSS, etc. to NORMAN T. PRATT, JR., Department of Classics, Indiana University, Bloomington. Departmental material to the proper editors. MSS from the Atlantic, New England, and Pacific states to these regional editors. Concerning subscriptions and details of circulation to PROFESSOR HOUGH (address above). On advertising and other business items to MRS. MILDRED H. MOSLEY, 214 Poplar St., Winnetka, Ill.



THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL